The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: the interaction of nationality, class and gender

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the interaction of class and gender in nineteenth-century Scottish education by means of a focus on the schooling of working-class girls and its relationship to the national educational tradition, with particular reference to the period 1872-1900.

The first chapter considers general issues of national identity, education and gender, and the place of women in Scottish educational history.

The second chapter investigates the state of female education in Scotland before 1872, focusing on the Argyll Commission (1864-1868). It shows that girls were less likely to be sent to school than boys; that girls stayed at school for a shorter time than boys; and that many girls were taught outside the parochial system. The 1872 Act tackled these inequalities, but reinforced the gendering of education, notably in the curriculum.

The third and fourth chapters consider respectively the industrial Lowlands and the areas outwith the central belt (the Borders, and the Highlands and Islands) after the 1872 Education Act, with Glasgow and Dundee as major urban case studies for the former, and Edinburgh and Aberdeen for the latter. Each chapter shows the importance of the regional economy for working-class girls' education, in addition to the expectation of domestic duties. The detailed case study of school log books reveals a continuing, though ameliorated, gender inequality, which was mitigated by opposition from both parents and teachers to any dilution of the academic content of girls' schooling by the emphasis, placed by both government policies and feminist campaigns, on practical domestic skills at the expense of book-learning. However, Catholic schools welcomed domestic subjects, for the good of the family and the Catholic community's standing within the wider national community.

The fifth chapter examines the position of the schoolmistress, who, although in a subordinate position within the profession, still considered herself a partner, albeit junior, in preserving the traditional educational ideal of universality and meritocracy.

The final chapter concludes that there were sites of conflict (religious, ethnic, national), all of which concurred on the expectations and assumptions regarding gender roles, and especially women's place in the home and within the national community. Nevertheless, the conclusion is that women could play a part in the educational tradition, though not one of equality with men.

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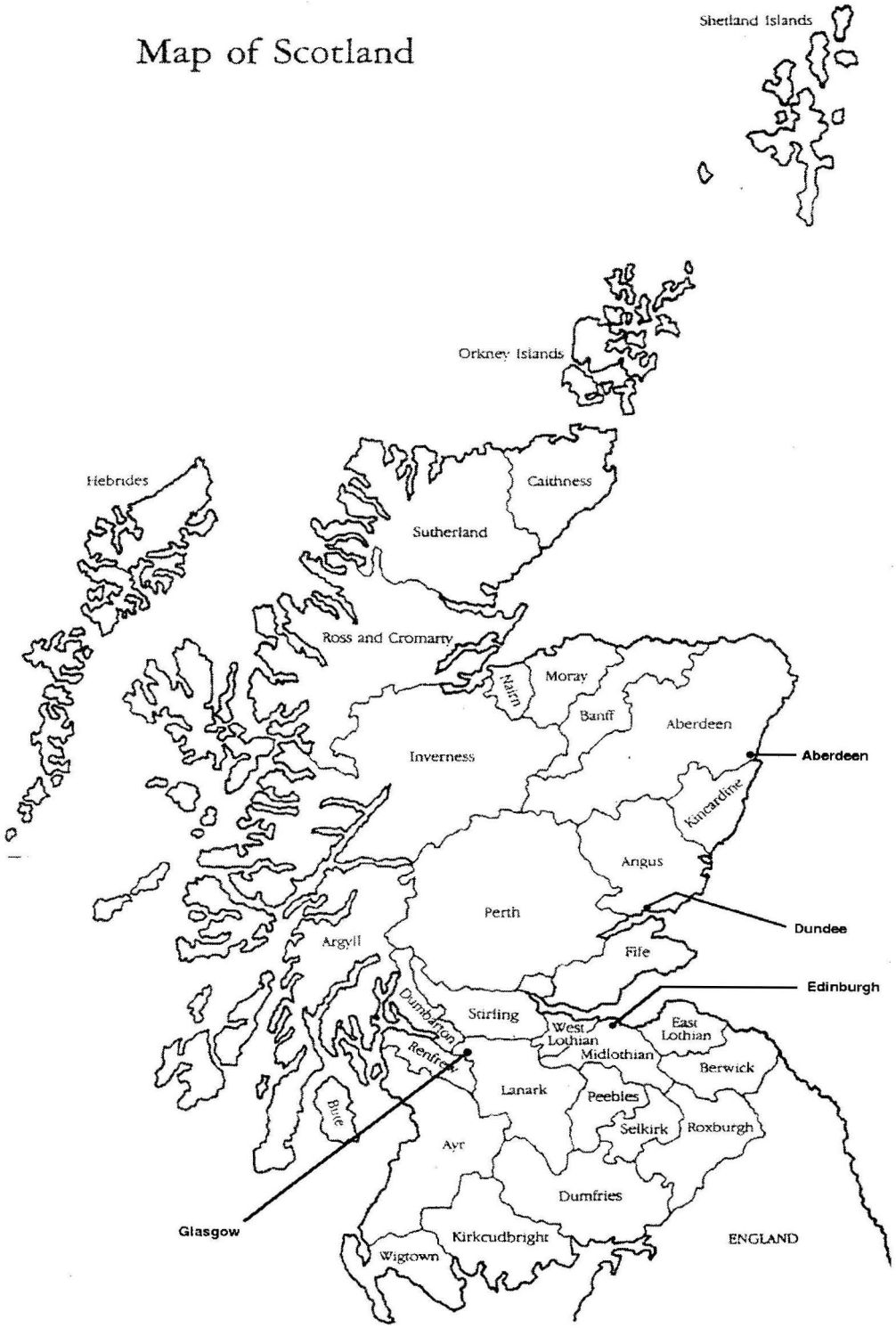
Map of Scotland



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EGSS	Edinburgh Gaelic School Society
EIS	Educational Institute of Scotland
LLA	Lady Licentiate in Arts
SED	Scotch Education Department
SSPCK	Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge

Chapter 1
Introduction

At the end of the twentieth century, Tom Devine argued that 'the stereotype of the passive female has little relevance to Scottish history'. [1] Yet in late twentieth-century discussions of national identity in general, and of the educational tradition in particular, Scottish women were often portrayed as peculiarly inferior to English women: not only was it held that 'the Scottish education system promoted a gender identity for women which did not work to their benefit', but there was little sense of women as agents of national identity, except as handmaidens to a patriarchal ideal. [2] By means of a study of the schooling of working-class girls in the nineteenth century, with special attention paid to the period after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, it is the contention of this thesis that women's role in the 'making and re-making of Scotland' was not simply a case of kissing, or perhaps more appropriately polishing, the chains that bound them. Women do not simply do as is expected, anymore than men do, but rather they modify those expectations. They are reproducers of the nation in cultural as well as biological terms. [3]

It is around education that the crisis of national identity revolved in the nineteenth century, especially as the Church of Scotland split in the 1840s and as the impact of economic and social change opened the way for increasing immigration and anglicisation. A study of the relationship between gender and education reveals sites of conflict (religious, ethnic, national), all of which generally concur on the expectations and assumptions regarding gender roles, and especially the woman's place in the home and in the national community.

As this study will show, however, such agreement is more complex than it appears on the surface. Anglicisation was certainly seen from the 1860s, and especially after the 1872 Education Act, in the influence of the Victorian ideal of domesticity on education, as evident in the curriculum for working-class girls especially, and in the dominance, in terms of numbers, by women teachers in the schooling of infants and girls. Such a development may be seen as a gain for Scottish women, providing them with career opportunities previously monopolised by men. This study questions Helen Corr's contrast of what she sees as a feminist presence

among English teachers with their Scottish counterparts' acceptance of a subordinate place in a masculine profession which renders the latter as accomplices in that patriarchal tradition. [4]

The argument here is not to challenge the notion of a masculine educational tradition in Scotland, but rather to contest the consequent assumption that Scottish women were either passive victims or willing dupes of a patriarchal ideal. There are a number of issues which need to be addressed: the nature of anglicisation and its impact on female education; the responses to that influence; and the female experiences of education in Scotland. To insist that national identity be taken into account, rather than simply be assumed, equated with and dismissed as patriarchy, is to move towards a more subtle understanding of the position of women in Scotland generally, and in the educational tradition in particular. It is also to question a feminism which claimed to be acting in the interests of women when it championed a gender-specific curriculum for working-class girls which undermined the national tradition, which itself was weighted against girls. The ideal was constructed around men, certainly, and by the nineteenth century had been overtaken by the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation, while it excluded Catholics. Yet the myth of universality and the meritocratic ideal were not static. Scottish education did not simply look back to a golden age of patriarchy. Rather, the resistance to anglicisation expressed itself in efforts to improve and develop, and not just to preserve, the educational system, while economic and social change opened up opportunities for girls and women in education. That they did not challenge the myth should not lead us to assume that they simply reinforced rather than reshaped the patriarchal ideal.

Feminists and Unionists who saw anglicisation as a measure of civilisation sought to impose a separate domestic curriculum on the schooling of working-class girls in Scotland. The fact that this was resisted, as will be seen in the following chapters, did not automatically make the resisters anti-feminist, or anti-women. Indeed, the social class nature of the feminist campaign in favour of 'home rule for women', in which middle-class teachers and School Board members would inculcate domesticity into working-class girls, was perceived as a threat to the democratic ideal in Scottish education. On the one hand, resistance to a gender-specific curriculum did not mean a rejection of traditional gender roles. On the other, it indicated a belief that daughters as well as sons could benefit from the Scottish system, and a distaste for the

class-based nature of English education with its relegation of the working class of both sexes into 'elementary' schooling, and its dilution of the academic content of girls' education by the stress on practical domestic skills at the expense of book-learning.

Acknowledgement of gender inequalities in Scottish education may well highlight similarities between the Scottish and English systems, but as this study will argue, it does not dissolve the differences. Indeed, simply by focusing on a shared inequality between Scottish and English women, the importance of nationality in shaping women's experiences of education in Scotland (except to argue that it was a more patriarchal experience than in England) is ignored. Any challenge to the gender-blindness of the Scottish educational system which simply insists on the practice of gender inequality overlooks the power and the attraction which the myth of the democratic intellect held for Scottish women.

1.1: National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland

Neil McCormick portrayed Scotland as a 'mongrel nation', referring to its historically 'polyglot and ethnically diverse populace':

> To understand Scotland, we must understand rather the curious continuity of a civic nation whose cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversities focus on common institutions and, by interacting around them, came to constitute themselves a unity in diversity. [5]

McCormick was reviewing a volume on the history of Scots law, whose survival, along with the Kirk, he saw as one of the two foundational guarantees in the Union of 1707. He overlooked what many historians see as the third basis of national identity, the educational system, while totally neglecting the influence of gender in the shaping of civic nationality.

Since Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983) it is almost a truism to say that all national identities are invented, that people come to imagine a shared experience of identification with an extended community. [6] Of course, Anderson's definition of the nation as an imagined *political* community does not tell us either

who imagined it, or what it consists of, while there is an implicit equation of nation with state. Such a definition excludes the majority of women, and indeed substantial numbers of men, before universal franchise. There is a need to widen the focus from the narrowly political to the cultural, as well as to consider the plurality of identities within that imagined community. That nineteenth-century Scottish nationalism was unionist did not preclude a distinct sense of national identity. [7]

Arguably, general agreement on gender roles provided a force for unity, not only between the various Scottish identities, but also within unionism. However, since the late 1980s, work published on Scottish women has revealed that they have largely been excluded from history precisely by the nature of the debate on Scottish national identity, which has been conceived as a masculine construct. [8] Feminist scholars have pointed out that all national identities are also gendered; that nationalism ideologically institutionalises gender difference. [9] In the case of Scotland, we might be forgiven for thinking that national identity (or the questioning of it) is a masculine enterprise, certainly from reading the late twentieth-century soul-searching in Scottish history. There's Mother Ireland and Mother Russia: however subordinate in practice they embody the national spirit. The nearest we seem to get to such a figure is Jeanie Deans in Walter Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* (1818).

In 1991, Rosalind Mitchison edited a collection of essays, *Why Scottish History Matters*. There was no specific consideration either of why it matters to Scottish women, or of why women matter to Scottish history. In a review of this book, William Ferguson chided it for having little on economic or social history, but concluded:

> The Scottish historian, just like any other historian, is faced with this daunting task: he [*sic*] has to be true to the past without falsifying the present, and *vice versa*. This admirable booklet successfully meets the challenge. [10]

Ferguson made no mention of the missing women, or of any lack of gender analysis. Later, in 1993, at a conference debating 'Whither Scottish History?' at Strathclyde University, there was no paper on women, and no gender analysis; however, in the conference proceedings, Tom Devine urged Scottish history to be alive to 'new' themes and issues, such as women's history and medical history. [11]

Both the Mitchison collection and the Strathclyde conference took a chronological and political approach. In 1986, Ronald Turnbull and Craig Beveridge made some very pertinent remarks about Scottish historiography from the nineteenth century. In particular, they pointed out that the pre-Union period has generally been painted as a 'dark age', with the Union as 'the principal agency in the civilisation of Scotland'. [12] The focus of their argument was political: the need to 'recover' a more positive pre-Union past to strengthen the case for devolution, or independence, in the late twentieth century. What was not considered was how peripheral women have been to the historiographical, as well as the political question. As Esther Breitenbach has argued, Scottish women are historically marginalised in three ways: within Scottish history; within British feminist history; and within debates on nationalism. While she accepts that historians of Scotland acknowledge women or gender, she insists that it is a 'technique of containment', relying on the generalisation of women's oppression and self-sacrifice and on the assumption of female passivity. [13] Both the Mitchison collection and the Strathclyde conference showed that women were largely absent from the medieval and early modern periods. [14] Indeed, it was a sociologist, Christina Larner, who in 1981 made the first serious investigation of witchcraft in Scotland. [15] Interestingly, in their critique of T.C. Smout's work, notably his *History of the Scottish People* (1969), Beveridge and Turnbull focus precisely on his treatment of the seventeenth century, of a society 'dominated by economic disaster, serfdom and superstition'. [16] To illustrate this last point, Smout had given a lengthy account of the 'witch hunt' ,which Turnbull and Beveridge consider over-weighted in order to obscure the cultural developments of the period. Nowhere do they point out that women were the main victims of the witch hunt, nor that this episode represents one of the few appearances of women in Smout's *History*. At least in a later work, published in 1986, Smout himself acknowledged the neglect of women's history in Scotland, deeming it 'a historiographical disgrace'. [17]

It is interesting that all the speakers at the Strathclyde conference briefly lamented the lack of women's history in Scotland, even while they clearly did not see it as part of their remit to include women in their studies. The admission that women and gender had been omitted was rather defensive. On the one hand, Tom Devine saw women's history as a new specialism to which Scottish history had to be alive; on the other, R.J. Morris and Graeme Norton worried about the isolation of Scottish

women's history from 'other Scottish stories'. [18] It was pointed out that:

1 Scotland is a small country with a small market for historical publications. It seems that Scottish women face a double closure: once because they are Scottish; twice because they are women.

2 Scotland is a nation, but not (yet) a nation state. Scottish identity does not depend on state institutions. Yet it is clear that there are key institutions specific to Scotland, preserved since the Union (law, church, education) which are at the heart of national identity, and which generally escape gender analysis.

There was, then, a curious blend of calls for Scottish women's history to be developed, with the acknowledgement that it was already developing and worries over where that development would lead. Hence Allan MacInnes hoped that it 'will not be disadvantaged by the transatlantic spread of political correctness'. [19]

Thus, while acknowledging a need for women's and gender history, these conference proceedings still implied that it was not central to the discussion and debate on the condition of Scottish historical studies. [20] Indeed, Morris and Morton associated the:

> slow articulation of women's history/gender history in Scotland with the lack of a clearly defined target... The agenda of English/British history was dominated by the male Westminister 'Peel Special Subject' style of parliament-led stories. It is not self-evident that such a target exists for women's and gender historians working in Scotland... The clearest picture of a gender history in Scotland is in the area of work and labour politics, because the 'targets' were clearest. [21]

This point assumes the need for a patriarchal Scottish state to 'kickstart' women's history in Scotland. In practice, women's history has been stunted by the predominantly patriarchal discourse of Scottish historiography since the nineteenth century.

Marinell Ash traced *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (1980), focusing on Walter Scott's early nineteenth-century efforts to rehabilitate and revise Scotland's pre-Union history, without challenging the Union but still preserving a Scottish identity within the Union. She concluded with the victory of English constitutional history, established in the universities by the late nineteenth century, and the distortion of Scott's historical consensus by 'a succession of historical kailyards'. [22] In *Subverting Scotland's Past* (1993), Colin Kidd developed some of Ash's arguments, asserting that in the nineteenth century:

> the Scots, unlike the Irish, Italians, Hungarians, Poles, and most other historic nations of Europe who, at that stage, lacked full political autonomy, missed out on the development of a full-blown romantic nationalism. [23]

What survived into the nineteenth century was pride in Scotland's intellectual achievement and the martial tradition. Hence Scotland's national character was essentially masculine, and necessary to preserve if Scotland was to play a significant, distinctive and respected part in the Union.

For Kidd, nineteenth-century Scots saw the Union and anglicisation as saving them from feudal oppression and backwardness: in the Union lay progress. Past achievement in independence was denigrated in favour of civilisation and modernity in the Union. However, as Richard Finlay has pointed out, both Kidd and Ash base their arguments on the premise that Scottish nationalism could only be identified as such if it challenged the Union and demanded independent statehood. [24] Such a narrow definition of nationalism precludes an examination of the ways in which the Scots could assert their nationality within the Union. Indeed, nineteenth-century Scots both accepted the Union, and asserted their national identity - or rather were deeply worried about losing it.

A key area was education. Penny Fielding has pointed to the importance placed on literacy for the Scottish national character in the nineteenth century. [25] At the beginning of the century, it was believed that literacy set the Scots apart as a moral, orderly people, compared particularly to the Irish. [26] Hence, the hostility towards both Irish immigrants and Gaelic-speaking Highlanders. Hence, too, the importance of literacy in English for the Evangelicals such as Thomas Chalmers

and the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK). By the early 1830s, George Lewis and the Glasgow Educational Society (by then dominated by Evangelicals) were insisting that, apart from the Kirk and parochial schools, Scotland had lost its nationality: 'In these alone we survive as a nation – stand apart from and superior to England'. [27] Lewis worried that the urbanisation of Lowland Scotland was undermining the traditional values of parochial schooling which he recognised as a moral glue, cultivating 'kindly feelings between all classes, and so promoting social harmony'. [28] Donald Withrington has argued convincingly that Lewis's *Scotland A Half-Educated Nation* was 'a political and ecclesiastical treatise almost as much as it was an analysis of Scottish education'. [29] As Withrington pointed out, what upset the Evangelicals was that only a third of all boys and a quarter of all girls were attending publicly funded schools within the state-church system. [30] Whatever impact the pamphlet had at the time of publication, what Lewis had to say about Glasgow, as opposed to Scotland as a whole, amounted to a substantial indictment of existing accommodation, both in terms of quality and quantity, reflecting the huge demographic and economic pressures the city had been experiencing since the early Victorian period. [31] As Withrington's figures show, there was also a gap between male and female enrolment and attendance.

Yet however much parish schools had declined, the ideology behind the system shaped Scottish thought on education in the nineteenth century. Parochial schooling had moulded and socialised the nation in pre-industrial times. Thus fears for the continuation of a distinct Scottish identity focused on the educational tradition in the early nineteenth century as it was challenged by economic and demographic change, in the process of which the sense of difference from, and superiority to, England was threatened. Then, from the middle of the century, and notably the 1860s, the British state, and in particular education, was subject to increasing centralisation, which brought additional fears of anglicisation. Concentric loyalties came up against multiple identities, and concern over the loss of Scottish identity led to an even stronger recourse to the national educational tradition.

Hence there was widespread agonising over what was perceived as the regressive influence of the Union, in the anglicisation of Scottish education. In their

polemical work *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (1989), Beveridge and Turnbull concluded with a call to reassert the Scottish intellectual tradition, as discussed in George Davie's seminal work, *The Democratic Intellect* (1961), the most important step towards which goal would be the reinstatement of philosophy as a central study in Scottish universities. [32] Again, there was no consideration of the absence of women from the intellectual tradition (and indeed from Davie's work). Davie, of course, as well as Beveridge and Turnbull were concerned with anglicisation and loss of national identity. Their arguments regarding the former can be challenged in terms of timing and causation, while their conception of the latter is definitively masculinist. [33]

Most historians recognise tensions which militated against a unifying national mythology in nineteenth-century Scotland: between being Scottish and British; Highland and Lowland; urban and rural; east and west; Protestant and Catholic; and after the 1843 Disruption in the Church of Scotland, the divisions within Presbyterianism. [34] The insularity of the Catholic community (discussed below) obscured similar divisions within it. In considering the nature of these tensions, women have generally been marginalised, a situation which has recently been acknowledged. [35] Moreover, Lindsay Paterson has argued that Scotland's 'dual nationalism' and 'dual identity' (Scottish and British) was gendered in imagery and symbolism:

> Britain was male, Scotland female. As throughout the UK, foreign affairs and the Empire were for men, domestic matters for women. What distinguished Scotland from England, however, was the coincidence of the gender dichotomy with the national one, and in this respect Scotland resembled other similarly placed nations in central Europe, where the essence of the nation was believed to lie in the family. [36]

Paterson's application of gender is in support of his thesis that Scotland had real autonomy within the Union in the form of domestic sovereignty. Yet it is a very narrow definition of gender, simply equating 'domestic' with femininity. When this non-political feminine national identity is examined, what is striking is its masculinity. For example, and especially with Walter Scott's novel *Waverley* (1814), the Highlands and the Highlander (the 'Bonnie Highland Laddie') formed a central

part of nineteenth-century Scottish identity. [37] We are back at the masculine, military tradition, of the Scottish soldier.

In terms of education, that role was played by the dominie and the lad of parts. The role Paterson sees middle-class women contributing to the development of the national system of elementary education after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act was that of championing the introduction of domestic science into the schooling of working-class girls which the former saw as modernising, 'civilising', and even 'incipiently feminist in that it would attach educational value to women's traditional activities'. [38] Paterson opposes his notion of 'modernising' to Lindy Moore's notion of 'anglicising'. [39] Yet in the Whig interpretation of history which prevailed in the nineteenth century, these two concepts were equated, in what Helen Corr has termed 'home rule' for Scotland. [40] Moreover, as will be seen, this particular cause of modernising/anglicising was resisted both by working-class parents and by the teaching profession, as alien to the Scottish tradition in education.

Certainly, in Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* (1818), the central character is a woman of the lower classes, Jeanie Deans, whose simple eloquence makes her 'the voice of true Scotland, speaking from the grassroots of the peasantry'. [41] Judith Wilt has pointed out that Scott's celebration of the 'power' of Scottish women is more apparent than real: it is a false power. [42] This is in line with the notion that Presbyterianism is peculiarly oppressive for women. However, Leslie Ann Orr Macdonald's study of women and Presbyterianism in Scotland in the century after 1830 shows that even as Knox expected women to be obedient to men, he nevertheless did not exclude women from his desire to bring education to all the people of Scotland. Moreover, in Macdonald's view, the evangelical ideal of 'women's mission':

> transformed conventional notions of female influence into the proposition that the moral power of women was crucial to the evangelical task, and became a key component in the self-understanding and action of many Scottish churchwomen. [43]

Of course, this notion of a special female influence was conservative, but it also contained within it positive benefits for women, in the improvement of female

education, for example, and the widening of the 'domestic' sphere to embrace the public, even as a gendered division of labour persisted, and indeed was championed by middle-class women. Women's role in the education system and in the work of the Church grew tremendously in the nineteenth century, even as both institutions remained patriarchal. Women, then, were incorporated into the teaching profession, as well as the church, as a means of reinforcing the established order, yet their very presence subverted the patriarchal ideal. Certainly, these women did not oppose or reject patriarchy; but they also certainly expanded the limits of women's sphere within it.

1.2: Education and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Scotland

In their general accounts of the history of education in Scotland, H.M. Knox (1953) and James Scotland (1969) paid scant attention to female education, a lack remedied to a considerable degree by Robert D. Anderson in *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* (1995). All three accounts take a traditional approach, 'focusing on institutions and the decision-making elite, rather than on how education was seen and used by those at the receiving end'. [44] All three trace the close relationship between the development of a national system of education in Scotland and the central place of the Presbyterian Church. Reading was recognised as a fundamental skill, for both sexes, and was taught separately from writing. The latter was accepted as a skill more useful to boys than girls, who were more likely to be taught sewing and knitting, related not only to the domestic tasks expected of women, but also to the more restricted range of wage-earning occupations open to them. Indeed, sewing and knitting were seen as enhancing girls' chances of 'industrial' work. Anderson points out that before 1872 girls and younger children were more likely to be educated outside of the national system of parish schools, which was the case for all social classes, with lower class girls often taught in dame schools, and the middle class in private schools for young ladies. [45]

The 'Old' and the 'New' Statistical Accounts of Scotland (the former recorded in the 1790s and the latter in the early 1840s) revealed a national pride in the parochial school system, and in the popular literate culture, though there were criticisms of the system's shortcomings, notably of the underpaid schoolmaster, often

depicted as a national treasure. [46] However, by the 1840s the system was under increasing pressure from rapid urbanisation, related to the growth in immigration from the Highlands, the countryside, and Ireland. In both the 1790s and 1840s, education was seen as a necessary means of maintaining political and social stability, as well as national identity; but tensions within the Church of Scotland strained the parochial system in the early nineteenth century, while the influx of Irish Catholics undermined the notion of a unified national culture.

It seems that, before the 1860s when English influences on education began to be felt, unless female industrial departments were attached to parochial schools (or, indeed, to burgh, endowed, General Assembly, subscription and sessional schools) sewing was neglected in Scotland. Where there was instruction in needlework, the wives of schoolmasters were the preferred teachers. [47] Indeed, in a late nineteenth-century study of female education in England and Scotland, Mr. G.W. Alexander, who was Clerk to the School Board of Glasgow, argued that the Act of 1861 (which raised the salaries of parochial schoolmasters, and made changes to their religious test and to the examination of their teaching, to take account of the 1843 Disruption) was the first official recognition in Scotland of the education of girls, in the sense that it accepted the need for more gender-specific schooling for the working class: 'Hitherto boys and girls had been taught side by side in the parish schools, and as a rule, the curriculum for both was the same.' This Act, however, allowed the heritors and minister to appoint a female teacher:

> to give instruction in such branches of female industry and household training, as well as elementary education, as they shall then or from time to time prescribe. [48]

Hence the growing stress on an education in domesticity for working-class girls was not only a reflection of the increasing influence of English practices, but also a reaction to the split in the national community.

This focus on working-class girls is interesting in the light of the distinction Alexander drew between the education Acts for England and Scotland: the former was 'the Elementary Education Act, 1870 - an Act to provide for Public Elementary Education in England and Wales'; the latter, in contrast, was an Act 'to amend and

extend the Provisions of the Law of Scotland on the Subject of Education'. [49] Alexander seemed to be upholding the national tradition in education (mixed sex and social classes), and trying to reconcile it with the growing stress on the domestic over academic schooling for working-class girls, even as he accepted that such a stress might counteract the divisions within the Scottish community:

> Perhaps nothing in the history of Scottish education is more noteworthy than the increasing recognition of the special requirements of girls. It is true that the schools, excepting some of the High Schools and Voluntary Schools continue to be 'mixed', and to include children from all ages, from infants upwards. It is true also that, generally speaking, the curriculum for boys and girls is the same as far as the ordinary branches are concerned, and on this account there is much greater difficulty in arranging for special subjects than when girls are taught by themselves in separate departments. Needlework, however, has been made obligatory, and special inducements in the way of grants are held out for teaching cookery, laundry work, and dairy work, as well as general domestic economy and hygiene. Such instruction is always of a practical nature; and though laundries are still, as a rule, confined to schools in larger towns, well-equipped cookery rooms are now fairly general. Drawing which is not compulsory even for boys in Scotland, is now being taught in an increasing number of schools to both sexes. Until quite recently the physical training of girls was an optional matter, and probably received little attention beyond the calisthenics of the infant room. Now, however, some form of drill or physical exercise must be taught to all scholars if the higher grant for organisation and discipline would be earned. In some of the larger towns swimming is taught to the older girls who desire it. [50]

While this was not a call for gender equality, it was an attempt to provide, within the limits of grant requirements, at least a similar experience of schooling for girls and boys in the Board schools, in keeping with the parochial tradition (however romanticised that was).

A further pressure on the notion of a distinct Scottish educational system came from increased state intervention in education, prompted by the electoral Reform Acts

of 1832 and 1867, which threatened anglicisation along with increasing centralisation. This situation came to a head in the early 1860s with Robert Lowe's 'payment by results' with its stress on elementary schooling threatening the link between parish school and university in Scotland. The Argyll Commission into Scottish education in the second half of the 1860s (which will be discussed in the next chapter) did not prevent the Code being applied to Scotland after the 1872 Education Act, while the schooling system was effectively divided along social class lines as in England. [51] Also as in England, the curriculum was gendered. Centralisation in education was seen in the efforts of Henry Craik, who became permanent secretary at the Scotch Education Department in 1885, and who pressed for a common examination, a leaving certificate (introduced in 1888), at secondary level. [52] This affected a small minority of working-class pupils, while those girls who sought entry to the examinations had to include domestic economy as one of their subjects.

In England, the preference was for separate schooling for the sexes, whereas in Scotland, mixed sex schooling was the norm. However, as has been pointed out, girls were less likely than boys to attend the parish school. The latter was built around the meritocratic ideal which was male-centred, but which in practice affected a tiny minority of lower-class boys. Lindy Moore has revealed that before the 1872 Act, it was possible for a girl to study classics and mathematics in the parish school, but girls remained excluded from studying for university degrees until the 1890s. [53] As the nineteenth century progressed, reforms led to improvements in female education, but the developing ideal of female domesticity also influenced the schooling of girls, while both that and the demand for teachers drew more women into the teaching profession. Nevertheless, the 1872 Act maintained the tradition of mixed schools in Scotland.

In his study of the female experience of schooling in Scotland between 1872 and 1945, David Limond has argued that 'age, social origins or class and regional location seem to have been a greater determinant of poor attendance than gender variation'. [54] This study of the period 1872 to 1900, however, shows that, whatever the region, gender was always a major factor in school attendance. What is interesting is the interaction of all these determinants. The 1871 census showed that in textile towns, such as Dundee and Paisley, where most child and youth employment was for girls, boys were more likely to stay on at school, whereas in big cities and in areas of

heavy industry and mining (such as Glasgow, Lanarkshire and Lothian) it was girls. [55] Chapter four shows that in farming areas (such as Perthshire and Dumfriesshire) there was heavy seasonal demand for child labour, resulting in a pattern of a brief period of full-time schooling, followed by several years of winter attendance. Anderson argues that compulsion narrowed the gap between boys and girls in attendance, and that the continuing tendency for poorer attendance rates of girls in the middle age range was evened out by their tendency to stay on longer in school by the late nineteenth century. [56] However, boys were more likely to finish their education by returning in the winter, while girls were more likely to be kept at home to help with housework and childcare. In addition, as chapter three shows, the half-time system of schooling, unpopular in Scotland where it was seen to undermine the national tradition of education, was concentrated in the Dundee district, and so affected mainly girls. Moreover, as Anderson acknowledges, the development of girls' secondary education in Scotland lagged behind that of boys, and that of girls in England, limiting the opportunities for female pupil teachers and schoolmistresses. He nevertheless concludes his study of Scottish education with the assertion that the achievement of the 1872 Act was:

> above all to iron out the remaining inequalities - between Highlands and Lowlands, between town and country, between boys and girls, between prosperous and poor workers - and to extend the same basic standards to all. [57]

This study accepts the final point, but stresses that the gendering of education not only entailed differences between the schooling of girls and boys (for example, in curriculum) but reinforced sexual inequalities (for example in opportunities for secondary, and indeed university, education). Moreover, while the education system was national, and accepted with pride as an integral part of national identity, chapters three and four show that regional differences had a profound effect on schooling, while maintaining differences between the educational experiences of girls and boys.

Education was seen as integral to Scottish distinctiveness; but it also had to be adapted to English legislation. There were three power bases in nineteenth-century Scotland: the countryside, dominated by the gentry; Edinburgh, dominated by the professions; and Glasgow, dominated by industry. [58] Scotland has also been presented

as a series of 'city regions' dominated by urban centres - Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen - so distinctive that they defy generalisation. [59] There were in addition two political divisions, parliamentary and civic, with little organic connection between Scottish affairs and Westminster politics. [60] 'National' government was based in London. It was local politics which played the biggest part in the lives of most Scots in the nineteenth century. The result was the dominance of local elites, which differed according to the economic and social make-up of the parish, burgh or city.

The working classes were perhaps even more divided: between urban and rural, respectable and rough, Protestant and Catholic, women and men. According to Christopher Harvie, it was 'the women who created a home-life, and a sort of community politics... They stayed away from drink, and crime, saved and organised their families, read'. [61] Yet it is around the men and boys that the Scottish tradition in education revolves - the national stereotypes are the lad of parts, the honours graduate, and the dominie. Even as Harvie recognises the essential role of women, the very title of his book, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes*, underlines the gendering of Scottish history.

By the 1830s, there was perceived to be a crisis in Scottish education. Many believed that the salvation of Scotland lay not merely in preserving traditional rural values, but in somehow reintroducing them to the towns. [62] There was a mythological 'Scottish peasant' who figured in much early Victorian writing on social problems: self-reliant, poor and pious. While women in Scottish fiction were presented primarily in terms of supporting their menfolk, they were not depicted as passive, but rather as practical and resilient (notably in the figure of Scott's Jeanie Deans). [63] Eighteenth-century Scottish (male) moralists were fascinated by the role that the feminine character could play in a moral community, and perceived a correlation between motherhood and nationhood. [64] This interest had become a concern by the early nineteenth century. In his 1834 pamphlet, *Necessity of Popular Education, as National Object*, James Simpson argued that a national system of education was essential for social harmony, and advocated the same education for all classes and both sexes, up to the age of 14. For Simpson, the faculties of the female were the same as those of the male. [65] While most reformers agreed on the need for female as well as male education, more common was George Combe's insistence on the need for instruction in the domestic skills to be included in the female curriculum:

> I regard the great secular business of female life to be the producing, nurture, and rearing of children; the due management of domestic affairs; and the cultivation of those graces, virtues and affections which shed happiness on the family circle. These occupations are equally important to women as professions are to men; and under a proper system of education, women should be taught every species of knowledge, and instructed in every accomplishment which may directly contribute to the proper discharge of their duties.

Combe, however, also insisted that women needed a broad education, including science and philosophy, if they were to be properly equipped for promoting the physical and mental development of their children. [66] Thus, for early nineteenth-century reformers, education for a domestic role was not confined to the skills of housekeeping. In the late nineteenth century, different fears - for the physical rather than the moral state of the nation - led to a renewed emphasis on motherhood and female education. These fears were not peculiar to Scotland; but in Scotland, among Unionists, the stress on domestic education for girls in schools was linked to the stress on national identity.

Scottish national identity was not only conceived as masculine; it was Presbyterian. There was much dissension in Presbyterianism in the period 1750 to 1850, culminating in the Disruption of 1843; and there was much conflict between Protestants and Catholics. [67] Thus while the essence of Scottishness was Protestantism, Presbyterianism was not the only source of Scottish identity. There was migration from the Highlands and from Ireland, the latter especially resulting in a large Catholic minority which kept itself outside of the Protestant education system. Catholics sustained their identity through separate schools, which will be discussed below, as well as through their churches. [68]

Highlanders who migrated to the Lowlands found acceptance easier than the Irish Catholics. The former managed to maintain a distinctive Highland identity without being seen as a threat. [69] R.D. Lobban's study of the migration of Highlanders from the mid eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century into Lowland Scotland (with Greenock as the case study), shows that, while they

established schools, churches and societies, they did not create a specifically Highland 'ghetto'. One reason might have been that in the eighteenth century, the majority of Highland migrants to Greenock were attached to the Church of Scotland, and had at least basic literacy. In general, those who settled 'very quickly conformed to and became part of the general social, cultural and community life of [Greenock]'. Lobban concluded that Highland migrants to Lowland towns and cities helped shape the developing society, 'for by making easier the transference of the Highland traditions and myths into the general Scottish culture, .. they enabled the modern Scot to preserve his [*sic*] individuality from assimilation to other cultures south of the Border'. [70]

Irish Catholics, in contrast, were more marginalised. Indeed, it has been argued that as a stateless nation, Scotland expressed its national identity partly by Presbyterianism and the national Church preaching vigorous opposition to Catholicism. [71] Yet as will be argued below, Catholic schools were influenced by the national education tradition, even if their poverty, as well as their sense of being an alien minority, prevented them from openly embracing it. Nevertheless, at the same time that it was understood that education was crucial, women were taught, in school and church (whatever the denomination), that however necessary they were, they were still subordinate to men.

A combination of the democratic tradition in Scottish education and the Presbyterian tradition meant that Scottish girls, at least before 1872, were less likely than boys to be sent to school; that girls stayed at school for a shorter time than boys; and that many girls were sent outside the parochial system to separate schools offering a restricted choice of subjects. [72] However, if the parochial system was effective, and if parents wanted their daughters to learn more than the '3Rs', then they could even learn Latin. Yet this was due not to the positive encouragement of secondary education for girls, but to a wider and older Scottish tradition, that the 'higher branches' should be available to all pupils.

Still, in the nineteenth century Scottish education was subject to the pressures of Victorian beliefs, including the ideal of female domesticity. Indeed, Scottish as well as English feminists in the late nineteenth century championed gender differences in education as a means of providing middle-class single women with career opportunities which men could not claim, and which would bring the woman

teacher both status and influence in public life, as domestic science teacher. [73] Ironically, the ambitious Scottish woman had to seek promotion in England, with its tradition of separate schools for the sexes. Thus, the Scottish egalitarian tradition, reflected in its mixed-sex parish schools, served to circumscribe the woman teacher since the head teacher was always a man. [74]

Ironically, too, it was women, including feminists, who criticised the male educational establishment in Scotland for its opposition to domestic training. It was the upper and middle classes who were in favour of such training for their social inferiors, which they believed would improve working-class living standards. Whereas the stress was on sewing in the mid nineteenth century, it shifted to cookery and laundry in the later decades. The number of girls studying domestic economy increased in the later nineteenth century with government grants. Specific Subjects had been introduced into elementary schools to broaden the education of working-class children who stayed on to the later standards. Schools generally offered two, but girls had to take domestic economy as one, while those who wanted to take cookery had to do so at the expense of more 'academic' subjects. A year's cookery course consisted of forty hours, twenty of them practical. Given the cost of cookery, the onus was on the teacher to economise, so that rather than concentrating on learning basic cooking of cheap produce, girls might bake items for sale.

Those who championed the teaching of cooking argued that the great aim was to help working men's wives provide thoroughly good and nutritious food for their families at the smallest possible cost. Thus in a cookery book for working men's wives, published in 1889, Martha Gordon insisted that, although some of the ingredients were not commonly used, the mother of a family should grudge no trouble to gain skill and knowledge of how best to provide palatable as well as nourishing meals for her husband and children. In the introduction to Martha Gordon's recipes, Dr James Russell argued the case for a domestic education for women:

> It is as absurd for a woman to begin the business of house-keeping, without a previous apprenticeship, as it would be for a man to start right off as a journeyman, without having been an apprentice.... Let her remember that she has not been endowed with instinct, as the lower animals are, but only with capacity, and that unless she fills up this capacity with the acquirements of

> education and study, she will fall far beneath the lower animals in the discharge of her duty to her husband and family. [75]

Such a view was endorsed by the Lord Provost of Glasgow when he opened new premises for the Glasgow School of Cookery in October 1889. He asserted that domestic worries and troubles would be smoothed over once a husband was served a well-cooked and palatable dinner. However, while the centrality of motherhood, both for the national community and the Empire, was accepted, others understood why women (and implicitly middle-class women) sought improved education and interests outside of the home. [76]

The campaign to introduce domestic economy into the curriculum of working-class girls and the later establishment of cookery schools highlighted two key issues of social class and gender roles. The schools were established in key urban centres, (Glasgow, Dundee and most notably Edinburgh), where the dominant source of jobs for working-class girls throughout the nineteenth century was in domestic service. Towards the end of the century, the prevailing notions of woman's place and fears for the health of the race led to an almost missionary zeal to raise standards of living and conduct by overcoming the assumed ignorance of working-class mothers. In addition, cookery schools, and the emphasis on domestic training for working-class girls, provided suitably respectable employment opportunities for middle-class women.

Citing as evidence the large audiences at the Edinburgh Cookery School's public lectures and demonstrations, the profitability of the School and the serious and scientific nature of Christian Guthrie Wright's *School Cookery Book* (1879), Tom Begg concludes that by 1890, the School had made a significant contribution to raising the standards of the diets of the population as a whole. [77] While Begg usefully places the efforts of the domestic science movement in the late nineteenth-century context of improvements in sanitation and the wider availability of cheap food, it is difficult to verify such a conclusion, given the brief period spent in elementary schooling by working-girls. Moreover, when graduates of the cookery schools gave demonstration lessons in smaller urban centres, such as Dumfries and Inverness (discussed in chapter four), audiences seem to have been mainly middle class.

In addition, there was the economic necessity of attracting those who could afford the fees, since the School had to be self-financing. The Edinburgh School's

experience here was similar to that of other Scottish domestic science schools, though it seems to have benefited from sounder management, resulting in financial solvency. By 1890, by which time the Edinburgh school's board had become entirely female, it was clear that peripatetic teaching was not a sufficient base for a long-term future. What was needed were more substantial courses of study which would require residential accommodation, but one result was that the cookery school became a post-school institution for the daughters of the prosperous classes.

To attract girls from better-off families, Higher Grade schools were established throughout Britain in the later nineteenth century for the minority of pupils studying at least three years post-elementary. They offered girls, mainly from the lower middle and upper working classes, a wider curriculum geared to external examination, suitable for future employment in the expanding commercial sector. Nevertheless, domestic subjects retained an important place in the curriculum for girls, while the science studied by girls, with its emphasis on botany, physiology and hygiene, differed from the boys' curriculum.

Helen Corr has pointed out that middle and working-class women in Scotland had different, often conflicting notions of domesticity, and that whereas middle-class women lamented what they deemed the inadequate skills of working-class women, the latter resented the condescension of their social superiors. [78] David Limond believes that Corr overstates her argument on the centrality of domestic subjects in working-class girls' schooling because he found few references to domestic subjects in the autobiographical writings on which he based his study of female education from 1872. [79] Besides the assumption that silence on a subject meant it either was not taught or that provision was haphazard and limited, Limond misses the point of Corr's analysis, which focused not on bureaucratic provision, but on the ideological arguments behind it. School Board minute books and school logs, which Limond did not consult, show a constant striving by Board members and government inspectors to provide and improve domestic education for girls, while many teachers often expressed resentment and frustration at the time spent on it. The 1876 regulation that any girl taking Specific Subjects had to take domestic economy ensured that, whatever its actual implementation, the gendered nature of the curriculum reinforced gender roles. Indeed, when considered in its widest sense, domestic education in the form of sewing was taught to all working-class girls in Board and Catholic schools.

Helen Corr sees an urban/rural, rather than a Scottish/English split. She claims that the campaign for domestic subjects in the late nineteenth century, under the banner 'Home Rule for Women', was essentially an urban phenomenon, linked to female representation on school Boards. Rural areas, in England as well as in Scotland, opposed it partly because of the high expenditure involved in equipping schools. Another aspect of the Scottish campaign was that many of the female advocates of domestic education in schools tended to be Unionists, influenced by the Victorian belief in the need to civilise the lower orders, which the Scottish poor greatly resented. [80] Indeed it was argued that women should stand in school Board elections precisely to ensure the curriculum for working-class girls which emphasised domestic skills, which male dominated Boards tended to neglect:

> Without the presence of at least one lady no School Board is complete. Half the scholars will be girls; and who should know better the girls' educational needs than those who have themselves been girls? [81]

Another argument in favour of at least one lady on each Board was that she would be more able than any gentleman Board member to assess the character of female teachers, who in turn would feel more comfortable in the knowledge that there was a lady on the Board to whom they could appeal. [82] Yet while both championing women's rights to representation on School Boards, and reinforcing gender differences, underlying these arguments were certain social assumptions: that ladies would know better the needs of working-class girls than the working class, and that a lady would be preferable to a working-class man as a Board member.

In practice, with notable exceptions such as Flora Stevenson in Edinburgh and Grace Paterson and Margaret Black (both of whom established cookery schools) in Glasgow, very few women stood or were elected to school Boards in Scotland, and of those who sat on Boards, even fewer had much of an impact. On the other hand, throughout Britain by the end of the nineteenth century, women had come to dominate elementary schooling, a concept associated with the English class-based approach to education. In Scotland, this became a matter of concern because school teaching, traditionally a profession based on university education and so effectively a male occupation, had a higher status than in England. After 1872, women came to

dominate the profession at the elementary level, at least in numbers. Thus, the sexual division within the curriculum (with domestic science for working-class girls) and the sexual division of labour within the profession was common to Scotland as well as to England. Whatever democracy there was in the Scottish system, which set it apart from the English situation, was firmly controlled by the male meritocratic ideal.

It could, therefore, be argued that the situation of Scottish girls and women in terms of education resembled that of English girls and women: one of inequality, of inferiority. Such an analysis is a serious challenge to the notion of the Scottish egalitarian tradition in education. Yet we need to examine what it meant to be a female Scot in the nineteenth century educational system, to identify the variations and alterations in the Victorian concept of gender, to investigate the gap between the ideal and the reality. The Victorian period has been seen as redefining femininity for Britain as a whole; but we should not assume that that definition was simply or passively accepted, nor that it was undifferentiated.

1.3: Placing Women in Scottish Educational History

While it was certainly the case that for generations Scottish history was largely neglected in schools, Scottish women's history was never considered. [83] Scottish history, particularly local studies, revived in the 1960s, parallelling and reflecting a questioning of national identity in Scotland, and revealing the paradox of a belief in a distinct national identity and a feeling of national inferiority. [84] Education was, and is, seen as integral to Scottish distinctiveness, and, whatever the reality, the parish school before 1872 was believed to develop a common culture for the whole population. In practice, of course, there was social and sexual inequality, which continued after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. The educational tradition has already been subject to revision. [85] Yet it remains gender-blind in its essentials, as if the acknowledgement of gender inequality would show the similarities rather than the differences between the Scottish and English educational systems, and by implication, would undermine the Scottish claim to superiority.

The collection of essays edited by Fiona Paterson and Judith Fewell (*Girls in their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited*) included a mixture of historical and contemporary studies which together made necessary another reading of the

educational tradition, one which challenged the comfortable stereotypes of the lad of parts and the dominie. In their historical overview, the editors contend that the pressure of Victorian beliefs ensured that the ideal of female domesticity was 'implicated in the gendering of education in Scotland, just as [it was] in England and Wales'. [86] Moreover, as noted above, gender differences in education were championed by late nineteenth-century feminists as a means of providing middle-class single women with career opportunities in what was a masculine profession. Given the lack of career opportunities for women in Scotland it is perhaps not surprising that by 1918 they made up 74 per cent of the Scottish teaching profession. Given too the national importance placed on education, there was concern, especially among clergy, over the loss of professional status with the feminisation of teaching. In practice there was a gendered hierarchy in the profession, reinforced by the fact that women and men taught different subjects, deemed appropriate to their sex.

Generally, the contributors to *Girls in their Prime* saw the tradition of co-education (more accurately mixed sex schooling) as discriminating against women, identifying a strong strain of machismo in Scottish culture as permeating the educational ideal. Paterson and Fewell insisted that the mythology of the educational tradition is a product of 'a way of understanding Scotland and what it is to be Scottish'. [87] Yet while they revealed the gender-blindness of that myth, and the gender inequality of educational practice, they did not fully engage with what it was to be a female Scot in the educational system in the nineteenth century. Indeed, nowhere in the collection was the experience of Catholic women in the Scottish educational tradition discussed.

Still, as Paterson and Fewell showed, beliefs about domesticity were implicated in the gendering of education in Scotland, just as in England, as reformers sought education for girls and boys appropriate to their separate spheres and social station. [88] The tradition in Scotland since the Reformation, which had led to the development of a parish school system, was co-educational, but by the 1850s, under the influence of the English preference for single-sex schools, private middle-class mixed-sex schools often split into two. The growing middle class in Scotland from the late eighteenth century had been critical of the mixing of social classes as well as of the sexes in Scottish parochial schools. In contrast to England, however, middle-class girls' schools tended to be day schools. Staying at home or with a substitute

family was seen as preferable to the English tradition of boarding. In addition, many girls attended more than one school at a time. Since fees in Scotland were relatively expensive, fewer middle-class girls, generally from the upper middle class, attended private schools. Moreover, in Scotland, there was a general belief by the mid nineteenth century that middle-class girls' schools were sound, so that reform was not such a pressing issue. Indeed, the most prestigious private girls' schools were run by men who were interested in educational reform, while advertisements for schools run by ladies boasted that they provided classes taught by the finest schoolmasters. [89]

Thus in practice, just as in England and Wales, while beliefs about female domesticity were indeed reflected in the gendering of Scottish education, instruction in domestic skills was deemed necessary only for working-class girls. Yet it appears from school log books and inspectors' reports that parental resistance among the Scottish poor to their daughters being taught domestic subjects was strong, and stronger than in England and Wales. Parents, it seemed, seldom differentiated between courses intended to train girls as servants, and those intended to train them as housewives. They resisted such courses, because they were not considered to be strictly educational. Lindy Moore pointed to a number of reasons for the opposition to teaching sewing, on which girls spent at least four hours each week, and domestic economy in Scotland. These included: a belief that intellectual discipline was the best means of developing an intelligent, moral and cultured individual; the tradition of mixed schooling and higher subjects; the opposition of teachers and the initial lack of female teachers; and the attendance of a proportion of middle-class girls. [90] David Limond, however, has concluded that while there was a 'gender imbalanced curriculum from 1872 to 1945' this 'was never the result of any conscious plan or policy'. [91] Yet government education policy, public debates, feminist educational campaigns, and school records for the period under discussion here (1872-1900) show that there was indeed an overt and conscious determination to distinguish between the schooling of working-class girls and boys, and that there was great emphasis placed on domestic education for working-class girls, however unevenly the policy was implemented. In addition, whereas Specific Subjects had three levels, giving a sense of progression, the domestic economy syllabus had three topics, which Lindy Moore has argued were all equally basic. [92]

The gender-specific curriculum, then, was class-based. It was primarily at

endowed institutions and at Industrial Schools or Ragged Schools established as reformatories, or to provide for potential vagrants, that girls were to be found specifically being prepared for domestic service. In the late Victorian period, there was a sentimentalisation of childhood, which was linked to the dual notion of girls and women as being both sexually innocent and threatening. Industrial Schools and corrective institutions were discussed in the context of a perceived need to protect 'at risk' girls and young women. Again the social difference in virtue was stressed: the latter were working-class, their saviours the ladies. [93]

Lady child-savers believed that a girl's place was in the family, yet working-class girls as well as boys were expected by their parents to work outside the home. The ladies were shocked by the sexual precocity of independent working-class girls. Linda Mahood argues that female delinquents were treated more harshly than boys, because girls were seen as especially vulnerable to the temptations of the street, leading to prostitution. Hence girls were sent to reformatory and industrial schools to protect them from future offences. In these institutions, the stress was on discipline and domesticity to equip the girls for future careers as domestic servants and mothers. [94] This was reflected, for example, in the amended constitution of the Ayr Industrial School (1878):

> The Secular Instruction of the children shall consist of Reading, Spelling, Writing, and Ciphering, and, as far as practicable, the elements of History, Geography, Vocal Music, and Drawing. It shall be given for 3 hours daily. The Religious Instruction shall be in accordance with the Religious denomination of the School, and shall be given daily. The Industrial Education shall be, for Boys, in Farm and Garden Work, and any common handicraft; for Girls, in Needlework, Washing, and Housework. The children shall be employed for not less than 6 hours daily. [95]

Thus domestic education, or domestic science, had been perceived not as an academic subject but as a practical, vocational subject, and as such reserved for the lower classes. Higher grade schools remained very much middle-class institutions designed with university requirements in mind. Yet while the vocational aspects of a gender specific curriculum were missing in these schools, there was nevertheless deemed to

be a feminine curriculum, reflected in the fact that, once admitted into Scotland's universities, women were to be found above all in the Arts faculties, as the following figures confirm:

Table 1.1: Numbers of Female Students Attending University Classes in the Session 1895-96

	Arts	Medicine	Science	Music
Aberdeen	34	1	-	-
St. Andrews	37	-	-	-
Edinburgh	160	-	2	5
Glasgow	167	72	3	-

Source: C.S. Bremner, *Education of Girls and Women in Great Britain* (London, 1897), p.270.

In Edinburgh there were also 39 women studying medicine in extra-mural classes who intended to graduate, and 35 non-matriculated women studying music only. [96]

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, few working-class women entered university. There were local differences, however. In her study of Aberdeen University, for example, Lindy Moore has found that the women who matriculated between 1894 and 1920 were overwhelmingly local, a quarter coming from professional families (especially daughters of rural ministers and teachers), and a fifth from farming families. There were working-class students (daughters of tradesmen and skilled manual workers), but they remained underrepresented. Moore suggests that, in contrast to other universities in Britain, there was at Aberdeen a belief that girls who were not ladies should still have an opportunity to study at university. The relative poverty and lower social class composition of female students at Aberdeen was due, Moore explains, to the relatively low cost of attendance and greater availability of financial assistance, and to the free or cheap secondary education. [97]

Certainly, facilities for women at universities in Scotland generally were inadequate, and Aberdeen in particular lacked the funds to follow the moves towards residential accommodation for women students which elsewhere in Scotland, and notably in England, was considered essential for the protection of female morality. Some saw residential accommodation as anglicising, but the lack of it meant that

almost no upper-class girls attended Aberdeen, and few upper middle-class girls did so unless they lived with families or relatives. The practice at Aberdeen was for students to stay in lodgings, separate for women and men. Possibly the cheapest in Britain, lodgings were another factor allowing lower-class girls to gain a university education.

Yet Moore's study shows that even at what was considered a 'poor man's' university, the position of women students was peripheral. The Student Representative Council remained a male bastion. Most university societies and rituals were either exclusive to, or dominated by, male students. Student magazines used ridicule and sarcasm to undermine women. Women were excluded from honours degrees. Not surprisingly, Moore contends, few female students challenged conventional notions of femininity. [98]

In any case, the majority of Scottish children left school at fourteen, and when at school had been pushed into 'vocational' courses, including household management for girls. By the early twentieth century, the English tradition of a gendered curriculum, in which working-class girls devoted almost all the afternoon to practical domestic training, finally prevailed in Scottish schools.

1.4: On the Margins? Catholics, Education and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland

As will be discussed in chapter three, this gendered curriculum was reflected in Catholic schools, where there were fewer chances for boys and girls to take Specific Subjects, and where as a consequence, for those girls who did, domestic economy loomed even larger than in Board schools. Both clergy and teachers, moreover, saw domestic education as a means of raising standards in the home and so counteract the stereotype of the uncivilised Irish/Catholics.

It has been noted that the Catholic Church in Europe, and indeed the USA, encouraged detachment and isolation from the developing urban and industrial social and political structures, one result of which was the 'ghettoisation' of the Irish Catholic community in Scotland. [99] There is, however, still a need to integrate Catholics into the nineteenth-century questioning of Scottish identity. They were, after all, partly a cause of that questioning, and however marginalised,

should not simply be assumed to have remained totally outside of the national community. Indeed, it has been argued that concern for education assimilated Catholics into the institutional structure of Scottish life, even as the schools themselves remained outside the state system, because Catholic schools had to conform to national standards of attendance, curriculum, and teaching, [100] At the same time, while Catholics strove to meet the educational ideal, they also desired to maintain, or retain, a distinctive identity.

The census of 1851 showed that of the 207,367 Irish-Scots, 135,975 (or 66.6 per cent) had settled in the industrial west-central region (Ayrshire, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire), where they made up 15.4 per cent of the population. [101] Outside of these counties, Dundee, with its textile industry, was another magnet for immigrants. John Quinn's study of the churches and the Irish in Dundee between 1846 and 1886 records the primary aim of the Roman Catholic mission as to establish schools where poor Irish had settled. The Sisters of Mercy were introduced to Dundee from Derry (Ireland) in 1859, and they ran the day schools in what was to be St. Joseph's parish. [102] Anthony Ross has also written that post 1872 and compulsory education, 'religious orders were brought in, mainly sisters to strengthen the supply of teachers, and to provide what are now called social services among the poor and the sick'. [103] This should not lead us to assume that all Catholic children went to Catholic schools. For example, in Perthshire in 1867, only 13 per cent of Catholic children (of whom there were around 300 in total) attended the two schools in Perth. The rest were in non-Catholic schools. Even after the arrival of the Ursuline Sisters (1865), the numbers of Catholic children in Perthshire were generally too small to merit separate schools. [104]

Nevertheless, David Limond has claimed that the dominant distinctive component of being a Catholic girl between the 1872 Education Act and the end of the Second World War was the possibility of being taught by nuns. [105] However, his study is based on literary and (auto)biographical sources, of which he admits deficiencies for the Catholic experience, and indeed for the late nineteenth century in general. His narrow focus on personal narratives leads him to make sweeping generalisations about the schooling of Catholic girls, the influence of religious orders (nuns as inspirational in producing successive

generations of Catholic teachers), and the position of Catholic women (in the face of the 'historical misogyny of the Catholic Church'). [106] This study of the later nineteenth century shows the situation to be much more complex. Since Limond himself points to the dearth of personal narratives of both nuns and Catholic lay women, on what does he base his speculations? He argues that:

> Teaching orders aimed at uniformity in their convent schools across national boundaries and over time and it is thus possible to make limited use of narratives of Catholic girls from furth of Scotland where these are available. [107]

While this is based on assumptions about the universal nature of Catholic schooling which too readily accepts the Church's claims for its teachings, it stretches the limits of historical interpretation to apply it to the period under discussion here, since most of Limond's personal narratives date from the twentieth century. The overall impression from Limond's analysis is that Scottish Catholic women suffered even more from patriarchy than their non-Catholic counterparts, another easy assumption, though he does at least allow that the girls might not have accepted the Church's teachings.

This study of Catholic school logs (see especially the third chapter), shows a predominance of lay schoolmistresses by the late nineteenth century. Catholic female religious orders do not seem to have played as significant a role in the schooling of working-class girls in Scotland in the later nineteenth century as in Ireland, though they remained important for middle-class schooling and teacher-training, as well for the very poor and for delinquent children. By 1918, only four per cent of Scotland's Catholic schoolteachers were members of religious orders, and the latter were concentrated in secondary schools, orphanages and reformatories. Indeed, by then, the religious orders did not have sufficient numbers to provide opportunities for all Catholic girls and boys who wished to have secondary education. [108] One reason for the turn to lay teachers in the later nineteenth century was the enormous expansion in Catholic elementary schooling after 1872: by 1894, there were 180 Catholic schools, with accommodation for 60,000 children. [109] In Catholic elementary schools, not only was the headteacher

frequently a lay woman, but the classes were often mixed (rather than single sex) because of insufficient teachers, high numbers of children (if fluctuating attendance) and poverty. The manager, usually the local priest, certainly visited often and regularly, but the day-to-day running of the school was the responsibility of the schoolmistress.

As has been suggested for the nineteenth-century USA, perhaps the perceived 'ghettoisation' of Catholics in Scotland was as much to do with the community's most immediate needs as with clerical control. Catholics in nineteenth-century USA were also thought to inhabit 'a distinct and remarkably insular subculture'. [110] However, studies made in the 1980s revealed considerable convergence in attitudes, behaviour and values between Irish-American Catholics and Evangelical Protestants, although both 'were adept at drawing symbolic boundaries around themselves'. [111] If Catholics in Scotland were seen as the 'other' within a majority Protestant community, that too does not mean that they were necessarily completely separate from the majority society and culture. There was certainly institutional separation in education, but the notion of a 'ghetto' both implies a lack of interaction with the wider community, and encourages a monolithic view of Catholics in Scotland, which overlooks the divisions within the Catholic community. The insularity of the Irish Catholic community was a means of coping with poverty, migration and prejudice. It also helped preserve their identity while they strove to clear a space for themselves within a new and often hostile environment. That did not mean that they were totally cut off from the wider community, including native-born Catholics. As John McCaffrey has pointed out, Catholics were struggling to adjust to a new environment where the main Presbyterian bodies were undergoing an equally painful process of readjustment. He saw striking parallels between the two efforts: 'an attempt to maintain a relevance to the mass of the population through the encouragement of self-help ventures and educational schemes, through the formation of savings banks, libraries and discussion groups, and work for the poor'. [112] And, it could be added, through the inculcation of similar, if not identical, notions of gender roles.

Mary McHugh contends that in the first half of the nineteenth century, Catholic girls' schools fared better than boys because of the earlier arrival of female religious orders, such as the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy. [113] Even

after 1872, she claims, Catholic schools seem to have relied on religious orders and pupil teachers. Yet as noted above, the underlying trend was for the employment of lay women, which may have been encouraged by the Glasgow School Board deciding in 1888 that, once a pupil teacher had served the apprenticeship, she or he could only continue to teach if they gained a training. That widened the gulf between Board and Catholic schools, since the numbers of untrained teachers in the former rapidly declined, whereas the latter continued to rely on the untrained. Interestingly, whereas McHugh records two-thirds of female and one-third of male Catholic teachers being untrained at the end of the nineteenth century, Bernard Aspinwall notes that, nevertheless, most teachers who held qualifications 'of any sort' were female. [114] Until Notre Dame in Glasgow began to take students in the mid 1890s, most trained women teachers gained their certificates from Liverpool under the sisters of Notre Dame in Mount Pleasant College (established 1854). The training included management of not only Irish parents, who had to be dealt with firmly and professionally, but also of priests, where tact rather than firmness was advised. The schoolmistresses should 'respect the priest in "his little whims and plans about his school", conciliate but retain a respectful distance, yet never compromise on professional educational issues'. [115] Perhaps there is too easy an assumption that the Catholic community was dominated by the clergy. In practice, much, and notably the schools, depended on the laity. Priests certainly were anxious to preserve their influence and impose the Church's authority; but they also wanted to improve the position of their parishioners, and saw education as a key means, and not just of social/clerical control. Moreover, while the emphasis on the authority of the priest reinforced masculine, as well as church, authority, women were often at the centre of Catholic life, both in terms of numbers and images.

Education was thus seen as important for strengthening the Catholic community. However, secondary education grew only after the 1918 Education Act, and relatively few Catholic pupils were put forward for the certificates being developed by the Scotch Education Department (SED) from the 1880s. Nevertheless, while Irish-born males and females in the nineteenth century were concentrated in unskilled or at best low-skilled occupations, Mary McHugh's study of the development of the Catholic community in the dioceses of Glasgow,

Motherwell and Paisley has shown that in the teaching profession by 1911, Irish-born females in Scotland performed almost as well as, and in Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire better than, those of English or Welsh birth. [116] This was also felt in the Highlands and Islands. Thus, F.G. Rea, the first Catholic (and Englishman) to be officially appointed (in 1889) to a headmastership in South Uist since the Reformation noted that some years after leaving the island in 1894 he learned of the success of many of his former pupils: 'some of the girls became head teachers and qualified nurses, some of the boys doctors, head teachers, captains and mates of seagoing ships.' [117]

Catholicism was certainly seen as a foreign (Roman) and immigrant (Irish) implant by the host community, and separate schools were to sustain Catholic identity. Yet education was also intended to integrate Catholics into the wider community, to gain acceptance and respect, and to empower a poor, disadvantaged minority in the face of widespread discrimination. If poor Catholics could be imbued with the meritocratic ideal, then class conflict could be averted. Traditionally, that ideal was male-centred and Catholic efforts, post 1872, to promote, through education, upward social mobility also focused on boys. However, as demands for teachers grew, which the religious orders could not meet, Catholic girls could aspire to improve their status, albeit within a male-dominated profession and church.

1.5: Organisation

This study, then, will examine the experience of girls in nineteenth-century Scottish education, concentrating on the period after the 1872 Education Act, in order to establish the relationship between gender, class and the national tradition in education. Scottish records seem as gender-blind as the education tradition itself. There is most difficulty for the pre 1872 period, for though numerous educationalists gathered material on the higher subjects studied by schoolchildren, they rarely distinguished between the sexes. There is some evidence from HMI reports, Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, the Argyll and Napier Commissions, School Board Minutes and from school log books. Though in general these sources too are gender-blind, a detailed reading of school log books in particular reveals a

gender inequality which was mitigated by the headmasters' fervent belief in the national educational tradition and resistance to anglicisation, by the influence on schooling of religion, as well as of the regional economy and society, and by the feminisation of the teaching profession.

While some middle-class girls attended Board schools, and School Boards sought to attract them through the establishment of Higher Grade schools, the main concern here is with the working class. The fact that the Scots did not see the need for an Emily Davies figure may well indicate complacency about the state of secondary education for girls in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, concern was expressed that the wealthier middle classes were sending their daughters to English, or English-type, secondary schools. Outside of private schools for girls, secondary education after 1872 was administered by School Boards. A minority of the larger Boards, notably Glasgow, established special high schools for girls, but in general the tradition of mixed schooling continued 'though greater attention is being given to subjects considered suitable for girls, and to such branches as music, painting and drawing'. [118]

This study concentrates on the education of working-class girls in Board schools under the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, and in Catholic schools, representing the largest minority (around an eighth of all Scottish children were in Catholic schools). [119] It has not considered schools which remained outside the mainstream of education post 1872 such as ragged, reformatory and industrial schools. Studies of these, however, reveal similar attitudes to gender in general and the curriculum in particular, though the latter was more restricted. [120] Nor have Sunday schools been considered, but here too there are interesting parallels with day schools in the impact on provision of splits in the Church of Scotland in the 1840s (which increased), and in the feminisation of Sunday-school teaching, from a majority of males in the 1850s to a majority of females in the 1890s. [121]

The second chapter considers the state of female education in Scotland before the 1872 Act, focusing on the Argyll Commission reports of the mid 1860s. Chapter three investigates the schooling of working-class girls, both Catholic and Protestant, in industrialised Lowland Scotland after 1872, with Glasgow as the major case study, and with consideration of the textile regions, particularly Dundee. The focus then shifts in the fourth chapter to the regions outside of the west-central belt, taking

Edinburgh and Aberdeen as case studies. The fourth chapter also examines the largely agricultural regions of the Highlands and the Borders. In addition, a particular investigation of Perthshire is included, as both a rich agricultural area with a relatively important urban centre and strong connections to the Highlands. The case studies examined in these chapters are intended to complement each other, rather than draw a sharp distinction between urban and rural, industrial and agricultural, since, as Christopher Whatley pointed out, economic and social change was not uniform. [122] Thus, consideration will be given to mixed industrial and agricultural areas (such as the heavy industry regions of Ayrshire and the Lothians and the light industry Borders). Conditions in the Highlands and Islands also varied, but still industrialisation had an impact, notably in the increased rates of migration, which also affected schooling.

Chapter five provides an examination of the female educators of working-class children in Board and Catholic schools. It engages with the work of Helen Corr concerning the gendered division of labour in the teaching profession, and challenges her narrow focus on the patriarchal nature of Scottish society, pointing instead to the complex interaction of gender, class and nationality. [123] Rather than simply dismissing the schoolmistress as complicit in patriarchy, chapter five evaluates her role in preserving and promoting the traditional ideal of universality and meritocracy.

Following Helen Corr, David McCrone has claimed that there is no lass of parts in the myth of egalitarianism. [124] While this study agrees that the myth was masculinist, the local case studies, particularly of Glasgow, and the examination of women teachers in chapter five, show that after 1872, with the development of secondary education and teacher training, that lass emerged and took as much advantage of the still limited opportunities open to her as possible. Robert D. Anderson has noted that by 1900, there was only one point between male (98 per cent) and female (97 per cent) literacy rates, while girls were staying slightly longer at school than boys. [125] In his report to the annual conference of the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) in 1894, the President commented on the training of teachers that what had been seen:

> to be a difficulty, the necessity for the special provision for the training of female teachers, has by their admission to the University been so altered

> that in a few years we hope the sexes may be practically [*sic*] on the same platform, and the question so simplified that any suitable provision for training may safely include both. [126]

It is interesting that it was only in 1872 that the Educational Institute for Scotland (EIS, founded in 1847) admitted women as members, and that it took women's entry into the universities at the end of the century to make the male-dominated profession contemplate something approaching equality, however conditional and grudging.

Robert D. Anderson has argued that Scottish women adapted the classic 'lad of parts to dominie' route both to improve their own education and to become respectably self-supporting. [127] He sees irony where such women saw opportunity. As Miss Jane Galloway, of Queen Margaret College, Glasgow, concluded in 1897:

> The days of inferior educational advantages and facilities for study given to women in comparison with those offered to men are in Scotland a thing of the past. From the Infant School up to the Honours Classes and Degrees of the Universities, all possibilities of education are open to them, in most cases by means of mixed classes, and in others by special classes. Women have thus as good opportunities now for preparing themselves for professional or other work as those available for men. [128]

This study will show that this was an overly, if not a wildly, optimistic view; but that should not obscure the pride in asserting women's place within the national tradition of education, which it was felt had not simply been preserved, but had been expanded to include women, even if the meritocracy would affect only a minority. A patriarchal system it remained, but without a close examination of how that system and tradition affected, and was influenced by, women we are left with the stereotype of female passivity and complicity which Tom Devine rightly, but perhaps too lightly, dismisses.

Chapter 2
Female Education in Scotland Before 1872

2.1: The Schooling of Girls in Scotland before the Argyll Commission (1864)

As discussed in the previous chapter, most writers on education in Scotland see its roots in the Reformation, with John Knox in the sixteenth century. Calvinism lay at the heart of Scottish education. Whereas the Church of England was extremely wary of education for the poor, fearing a potential threat to social order, the Protestant Reformation in Scotland stressed the need for universal education, regardless of class or sex. The Act of 1696 prescribing a school in every parish was never entirely effective; but in the later eighteenth century, most of the population in the Scottish Lowlands could sign their names. The parish school was believed to develop a common culture for the whole nation; it taught a wide range of subjects in sharp contrast to the narrow curriculum, as well as to the social and sexual segregation of English elementary education. Of course, affluent pupils could attend the parish school with regularity for several years, whereas poorer children could not; but the important feature of Scottish education, which set it apart from England, was that it represented a complete structure: a national system of education for all classes and both sexes.

Pride in, and concern for, the national system of education was reflected in the first *Statistical Account of Scotland*, compiled by Sir John Sinclair from the returns of parish ministers, between 1791 and 1799. [1] As R.H. Campbell has pointed out, it was written at the beginning of what has been regarded as the first phase of modern industrialisation. Together with the *Second Statistical Account*, written in the early 1840s, and so at the end of that phase, Campbell argues that they confirmed the need to take care not to exaggerate the extent of change. [2] Both old and new accounts had interesting information on the state of education in general, and on differences between male and female schooling. The first *Statistical Account* complained of the generally impoverished condition of schooling in the 938 parishes, and in particular of the poorly paid dominies. [3] It was noted that considerable numbers of children were educated outside of the parish schools. While those reporting emphasised the importance of a system in which the social classes mixed, the impression was that

more attention was given to boys' education. Thus, of Renfrew, it was commented that although there was no parish school:

> To the credit of the people in general, it may be remarked, that not only tradesmen, but even day labourers, give their children a good education. Scarce a boy who is not taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, a little church music, etc. And should any of them be neglected in their youth, when they come to the years of discretion, they go to school at their own expense, in order to acquire those branches. This is an important advantage which the Scots, as a nation, enjoy over other natives of other countries. [4]

It was an advantage specifically directed at boys and men in the late eighteenth century, which most who reported for the *Statistical Account* feared was being lost. There was also some concern over the relative neglect of girls' education. Indeed, the parochial school in Morven parish (Argyllshire) had an enrolment of nearly 50 pupils, of whom only six were girls. [5] In the parish of Logierait (Perthshire), of the 300 pupils, scarcely a third were girls 'as from the age of eight or nine, the girls were employed in spinning'. [6] In rural parishes, particularly in the Highlands, boys as well as girls could find employment from that age: poverty generally ensured a brief experience of school for both. [7]

Poor attendance because of family needs for child labour appears to have affected girls more than boys, at least in the Highlands. In a tour of the Hebrides in the 1760s, the Rev. Dr. John Walker had found a school established by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) which contained 39 boys and only six girls. He commented:

> The great difference between the children of the two Sexes is very remarkable; but the same is the case all over the Highlands. Wherever there is access to a school, boys are carefully put to it; but the Parents consider Learning of any kind as of little Moment to the Girls, on which Account great Numbers of them never go to any School. [8]

This was in line with the experience of SSPCK schools, which sought to encourage

the attendance of girls (and women) at sewing and spinning schools. [9] Such subjects gave women an employment opportunity in both SSPCK and parish schools, while the *Statistical Account of Scotland* revealed that women as well as men ran private schools. [10] Thus in Tranent (Lothians), besides the parish school, there were seven private schools, four taught by men, and three by women. [11] By the 1840s and the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, there seems to have been an increase in the number of female schools where the main purpose was to teach sewing, as well as of schoolmistresses who would in addition teach the 'ordinary branches of education' to infant boys and to girls. [12] The issue of child labour in both rural and urban areas continued to reduce attendance and enrolment at school throughout this period of industrialisation. It was now reported that parents tried various strategies to ensure that their children got at least basic literacy, for example by alternating siblings between work and school, or having a youth or adult, female as well as male, who had some education giving lessons to the children of a few families in one of their homes. [13] Still, as in the 1790s, so in the 1840s girls were less likely to attend school, or to attend as frequently or at such length as boys. For example, the following table shows the attendance figures for one Lanarkshire school:

Table 2.1: Attendance at Cambuslang Parish School, 1833-34

	Greatest Number			**Least Number**		
	Boys	**Girls**	**Total**	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Total**
25 March-29 Sept.1833	63	44	107	58	37	95
29.Sept.1833-25 March 1834	56	36	92	50	34	84

Source: *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol.6, p.440.

In another school in Lanarkshire, the numbers were broken down by age:

Table 2.2: Numbers Taught Reading and Writing in Old Monkland Parish School, 1833-34

	Under 5 Years of Age		**From 5 to 15**	
	Males	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**
Taught to read	44	71	576	448
Taught to write	-	-	204	114

Source: *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol.6, p.667.

These figures revealed that girls were more likely to be taught to read than write, and to be taught when younger than boys, while the girls' education stopped earlier

In Arbroath, the 1831 census recorded the figures of attendance at weekday schools of every sort, as well as giving a return for those over six years old who could neither read nor write:

Table 2.3: Number at School in Arbroath, 1831

Ages	Males	Females
2-6	131	107
6-10	263	236
10-15	147	135
15-20	13	23
20-30	2	3

Source: *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol.11, p.101

Thus, whereas boys were more likely than girls to attend school under 15 years of age, the trend was reversed over the next five years, perhaps indicating a desire on the part of girls to make up for the schooling they had missed. The figures recorded in the 1831 census for those in Arbroath who could read and write show that the main difference between males and females was in the latter skill:

Table 2.4: Literacy Rates in Arbroath, 1831

	Number who cannot read		Number who cannot write	
Ages	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
6-10	2	7	170	239
10-15	0	1	29	98
15-30	3	3	17	208
30-50	0	5	11	220
above 50	2	5	23	275

Source: *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol.11, p.101.

These figures were for Lowland parishes, but the situation was similar in the Highlands and Islands. [14] Indeed, there were still reports of the neglect of female education in the Islands. For example, in the parish of Kilmuir (on Skye), it was

regretted that 'many of the people foolishly imagine, that their girls have but little need of education in comparison with their boys, and consequently the proportion of the former who attend school is comparatively small'. [15] That did not mean that girls were indifferent to schooling:

> It is lamentable to see poor girls under the necessity of expending the earnings of one term, at a period of life when they become almost ashamed to confess their ignorance, in boarding themselves at Inverness, as long as they can during the next, in order to possess those common qualifications with which others more favourably situated begin service. [16]

Nevertheless, the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* noted the spread of, and increased interest in, education for girls, though still through female industrial schools, rather than the parochial school. At the same time, there was concern about the deleterious impact of factory, mine and bleachfield work, as well as fishing, on education generally, and on morality in particular. [17] The statement for the parish of Falkland in Fifeshire reflected much of the Lowland experience by the 1840s:

> The children of both sexes are taken away from school at such an early age, [to engage in handloom weaving] that sufficient time is not allowed to complete their education. They forget much of what they learned in early youth, before they arrived at years of maturity. [18]

Thus, before the 1860s, the meritocratic ideal, the concept of the talented pupil being able to progress through the system to university regardless of wealth or social status, was in practice, and despite a few exceptions, limited to boys. There is an element of truth to the ideal of universality: a comparison of the Scottish and English marriage registers for 1855 shows that in Scotland, 88.6 per cent of the new husbands and 77.2 per cent of their wives signed their names, while the corresponding figures for England were 70.5 per cent and 58.8 per cent. Indeed, in the majority of Scottish Lowland counties, basic literacy was over 90 per cent, the exceptions being the industrialising counties of the west. [19]

There was also the exception of the Highlands and Islands, where the

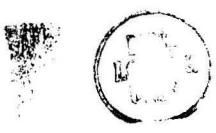
educational system came up against the barriers of language (Gaelic), social structure (lack of a middle class, and a high proportion of the population living below the poverty line), religion in some areas (Catholicism), and geography. Scottish Calvinism and Lowland culture saw education as a means of raising the Highlands and Islands above their assumed barbarism; but their educational 'mission' (rather than education) was resisted. [20]

In the Lowlands, industrialisation and urbanisation adversely affected education. The schools could not cope with the new demands. There was also the increasing influence of the Treasury and of English practices, including the pupil-teacher system and payment by results, which undermined the Scottish educational tradition. Yet despite the anglicising tendencies, the Scots never accepted the English view that there was a special, low-grade type of education suitable for the poor, and that anything beyond minimal literacy would encourage the spread of subversive ideas.

Detailed local studies of education in Scotland flesh out the impression given by the old and new statistical accounts. Such studies vary in their treatment of girls' schooling, but few pay more than minimal attention to it. In her study of education in Lanarkshire before 1872, Mary MacKintosh argued that there was in practice segregation by sex, though the situation differed between parishes and over time. She describes girls in Lanarkshire as the:

> underprivileged sex, spending briefer periods at school than did boys, especially in depressed periods, and having more frequent absences than boys because of the expectation that domestic duties was a female responsibility... Frequently [girls] were taught to read at home by parent, brother, or clever boy in the village. Frequently, too, they were given the opportunity to attend school only long enough to learn to read, write, and sew.

Indeed, often they were taught only reading and sewing. However, MacKintosh believed that demands for the education of girls became more insistent and organised after 1790, with the schooling of poor girls recognised as providing a bulwark for social stability. [21] She gave an example of curricular differentiation between girls and boys in the Ragged and Industrial School in 1860: both were taught reading, religion,



handwriting and dictation; the girls were taught housecleaning, washing and cooking; and the boys were taught net-making, gardening, seedsman or nursery work. Interestingly, both were instructed in stocking-knitting. [22] In his study of the impact of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act in Lanarkshire, Samuel Cooper gave a similar example for 1881: the boys at Beckford Street school in Hamilton received instruction in knitting, of which the HMI approved. [23]

In his account of education in the Stewarty of Kircudbright, J.A. Russell noted briefly that sewing mistresses were employed to teach the girls in parish schools. He omitted any mention of girls' education in his study of Wigtonshire. [24] J.C. Jessop's study of Angus (Forfarshire) revealed a similar situation to that in Lanarkshire: 'Up to the middle of the eighteenth century, and even later, sewing, knitting and other useful arts formed, in general, the chief elements of girls' education where such could be had'. Jessop also showed the social class divisions affecting girls' education, pointing to the numerous private schools for 'young ladies', and speculating, from the many advertisements in the local press, that there was keen rivalry among the teachers of such schools intended for girls of the higher classes who were instructed 'in every branch of Useful and Ornamental Education usually taught at such seminaries'. [25] Such private schools also provided respectable positions for female teachers at a time when men monopolised the parish schools.

They also indicate that there was a market among the middle classes for separate education for their daughters. Alexander Law's study of education in eighteenth-century Edinburgh showed that the capital city contained many more private schools and private teachers than any other Scottish city. 'Private' of course covered an extraordinary variety of schools; and sometimes upper-class girls as well as boys were taught mathematics, Latin and foreign languages. According to Law, Edinburgh was a centre to which young ladies were sent from different parts of Scotland for their education. Indeed, Law's study of the advertisements for boarding schools for girls which appeared in Edinburgh newspapers suggests that the boarding schools were intended for girls who could already read and write. They accommodated only a few (usually under ten), and some also accepted day pupils. Girls with special interests could also find suitable teachers:

> Cookery, needlework, dancing, music, and perhaps a little French were the

> subjects that attracted most; since they probably looked forward to marriage and the management of a house, such a training was a practical one. [26]

Some in addition offered book-keeping. Upper-class boys also came to Edinburgh for their education; but while social class was important in education in Edinburgh, and perhaps more so than elsewhere in Scotland, there was still, Law maintains, a certain democratic equality in the middle and upper-class boys' schools; and certainly in the English schools [adventure schools, teaching more than the basics], and less expensive private schools. [27] Moreover, there was no conception of 'industrial' work in such establishments, while among the lower classes, with the exception of knitting, girls and boys were instructed in different skills. For example, in the Industrial School established in Dundee in 1846, 'the preparation of oakum was the work of the boys, and the girls were employed in knitting, sewing, and other feminine duties'. [28] There was a similar case in Stirling, where a Ragged School was founded in 1849, in which both girls and boys were 'trained in the habits of industry, the boys being engaged at work daily, and the girls taught sewing and knitting and helping in rotation with the domestic work of the school'. [29]

In his study of education in Stirlingshire, Andrew Bain contended that there was probably more segregation in respect of sex than either class or religion, but he cautioned that there was a lack of uniformity. He gave figures for attendance at the High School in Stirling in the mid 1860s (212 boys and 116 girls), and at Falkirk Grammar School (158 boys and 122 girls), revealing that, while fewer girls than boys attended, there was mixed schooling for the middle classes. Bain suggested that in the country parishes of Stirlingshire the proportion of girls to boys taught was much nearer parity than in the big towns, even allowing for sewing classes attached to the parish schools. [30]

J.M. Beale's study of burgh and parochial schools in Fife before 1872 showed that both were mixed, but that boys attended in considerably larger numbers than girls. [31] William Boyd's account of education in Ayrshire revealed a similar picture to Stirlingshire and Fife, but also showed that in the early nineteenth century, girls were attending the parish schools in increasing numbers. One result was rising concern about the mixing of the sexes, especially in the bigger towns:

> In 1845, the Maybole heritors decided that boys and girls should be taught at different times. In 1862, the Dailly heritors planned a school with accommodation for not less than 100 children, 'with a proper arrangement for the separate teaching of male and female children'. In the same year the Girvan playground was divided by an upright wooden railing five feet high, presumably to keep the boys and girls apart. In the Minutes of Irvine Academy for 1851 mention is made of 'that part of the playground to the south of the Academy exclusively for the use of the misses'. [32]

Boyd argues that this concern arose with a general increase in the number of pupils which put great strain on the traditional system of a single parish schoolmaster. Hence the growth in the employment of sewing mistresses before the 1872 Act. Indeed, if the female teacher was certificated, a general division of labour developed, with the schoolmistress responsible for the younger pupils and for the girls' instruction in needlework, and the master in charge of the school as a whole, and of the older pupils and higher subjects in particular. Still, more boys than girls attended and were on the rolls of the mixed parish schools in Ayrshire, as revealed by the Argyll Commission (which will be discussed in detail below). The difference was greater in the burgh schools. [33]

Table 2.5: Attendance at Burgh Schools in Ayrshire, 1867

	up to 8		8 - 12		12-16		over 16		Total	
	Boys	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**
Ayr Academy	33	8	85	39	130	56	13	11	261	114
Irvine Academy	7	5	55	8	51	16	6	2	99	31
Kilmarnock Academy	14	1	88	20	6	2	4	5	179	28

Source: W. Boyd, *Education in Ayrshire Through Seven Centuries* (London, 1961), p.155.

The totals for these three burgh schools underline the gap between the attendance of girls and boys.

Jessop's study of Forfarshire provides a similar picture for Arbroath in 1831, with the biggest difference between males and females in the much lower levels of the latter who could write, or at least sign their name (noted above). However,

Anderson reminds us that statistics were used for political purposes in the nineteenth century, and that the calculations were often crude. He argues that by 1872, both literacy and attendance were at a high level generally, and higher than in England for women as well as for men; and that between 1855 and 1905, the rate of growth in female literacy was greater than for men, thus closing the gap. [35]

There was still inequality in the Scottish system. In particular, and like the English, it was weighted in favour of boys and against girls, though as we have seen girls in Scotland had a better chance of acquiring the ability to write a signature than girls in England before 1870. The talented boy in Scotland - the lad of parts (or o' pairts) - could go on to university if his talents were recognised; but at least until the 1890s, the lass could not. In practice, beliefs about female domesticity were reflected in the gendering of Scottish education, just as in England. What is interesting is the continuing preference for teaching the sexes together, despite growing middle-class anxieties, and the widespread parental resistance among the Scottish poor to their daughters being taught domestic subjects. Scottish parents did not refute the notion of separate spheres for the sexes, but they believed that domesticity should be learned in the home, with the daughters as the apprentices of their mothers. [36] School was for booklearning, for girls as well as for boys.

2.2: Female Education and the Argyll Commission, 1864-1868

Thus in Scotland, from the Reformation, education had been seen as promoting social stability. By the early nineteenth century, when the reality undermined the ideal of a school in every parish serving all classes and both sexes, the latter nevertheless exerted a powerful mythical appeal. Concern over the state of education by the middle of the nineteenth century had resulted in the Argyll Commission being set up in 1864 to investigate the schools of Scotland. Both the Commissioners and their assistants were men; so too were the witnesses to the Commission. The general impression is of dislike of English practices, notably the use of pupil teachers, which had been introduced into Scottish schools, and of resistance to the English notion of a class-based, elementary education. The Argyll Commission led to the Education Act of 1872, which was widely regarded as undermining the national tradition in education. Indeed J.D. Myers has argued that while the Act marked the loss of much

of what was distinctively Scottish in the school system, in broader terms 'that loss, in turn, represented a further deterioration of Scotland's culture and heritage'. [37]

Marjorie Cruikshank, however, has concluded that the Argyll Commission dispelled illusions which had been fostered by romantic nostalgia; but that still the new educational structure had in common with the old the aim to achieve universal literacy and to encourage individual effort, geared more to the needs of a commercial society. [38] The Argyll Commission's report on the country districts of Scotland inferred that the basics had been neglected, for the sake of a tiny minority of boys learning the higher branches to qualify them for university. [39] Indeed there was the danger that a taste of university education would make the dominie dissatisfied with teaching the basics. The Assistant Commissioners for the country districts reported that:

> we found conspicuous cases, where men who had been distinguished at the Universities had grown indolent and careless in their work, and took no interest in any part of their school management, except in the classical training of one or two boys, not improbably their own sons, or (as in one case) their own daughters. [40]

What chance was there for the poor talented boy, the lad of parts, whom the parish system was supposed to benefit? In an article on the mythical history of Scottish education, Robert D. Anderson has argued that although the phrase 'lad of parts' only came into use in the 1890s, the idea of there being no barrier to the talented boy appeared early in the nineteenth century, in the context of a conservative social ideology. It was always, writes Anderson, the *lad* of parts, and he points to the irony that:

> it was the classic 'lad of parts' career of school teaching which eventually gave women the first chance of using their intellectual abilities to secure a career and an independent social position. [41]

Thus the Argyll Commission both undermined the Scottish educational tradition and opened up educational opportunities for Scottish women. As will become clear,

however, the majority of poor girls had little chance of becoming lassies of parts, since generally the higher branches of education were restricted to boys, and the girls were expected by the Argyll Commissioners and government inspectors to be taught sewing as well as the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic, while less was expected of them in terms of the higher branches.

Key issues which the Commission addressed included the tradition of mixed-sex schooling and the attractions of the English model of single-sex education; problems of short and irregular attendance among the working classes, especially girls; and the desirability of a curriculum which stressed domestic subjects for girls, particularly sewing. Related to all of these was the position of the schoolmistress, and the part she might play in the national system of education.

2.2.i: Mixed Schooling

Some who reported to the Commission expressed regret that the English practice of single-sex education seemed to be spreading in Scotland. When John Gordon, an inspector of schools in Scotland under the Privy Council for sixteen years, was asked by the Duke of Argyll 'Don't you think that the girls have been very efficiently taught on the whole, and that the feeling of rivalry with their brothers, etc., has produced good results?', Gordon replied in the affirmative. Yet he observed that 'the process of detaching the girls to separate schools, and putting them under the charge of a mistress is getting on very rapidly'. [42]

Assistant Commissioners who examined the country districts of Scotland disagreed with the Scottish tradition of mixed schooling, however. They thought it desirable to keep the sexes separate after infancy, and preferred to have a schoolmistress to a master in charge of the girls. They implied a link between mixed schools and defective discipline:

> So far as we could judge, the influence of the girls upon the boys had no perceptible effect, whereas that of the boys upon the girls was obvious. The latter were too often coarse and indelicate, both in their appearance and their manners, in schools where they had been taught along with the boys, whereas, in schools where girls alone were taught there was a much greater appearance

of refinement.

Indeed, they queried the practice of mixed schools among the poor, but single-sex education for the wealthier circles of society. Nor was it only unfeminine behaviour in schools for the poor which worried them. They quoted one gentleman who linked mixed sex schools with immorality:

> People talk of the illegitimacy returns, and the immoralities of certain counties, and forget that they are encouraging these very evils by insisting on boys and girls from the age of ten to fifteen or sixteen mixing together daily in school, and in the playground, until everything that passes for chivalry in one sex, and modesty in the other, is swept away. [43]

Yet as we shall see, it was acknowledged that few children in these schools, girls or boys, stayed at school after the age of twelve. Moreover, one of these Assistant Commissioners, A.C. Sellar (secretary to the Lord Advocate of Scotland) did not press the case for single-sex schooling in his *Manual of the Education Act for Scotland*, published in 1872, though he clearly saw a role for female teachers in both infant departments and instructing girls in female industry and household training. [44]

The system of parish schools had been designed for a rural society. The Argyll Commission saw three great divisions of population: the Lowland parishes, the Highland parishes, and the large towns. In the first, the parochial system was believed to be fully operative; in the second, it was restricted; in the last, it was not operating at all. The parish schools in the countryside and their urban equivalent, sessional schools (connected with the Church of Scotland and the Free Church), were mixed schools, with male headteachers. Private adventure schools, the great majority of which were under female teachers, were seen as 'almost invariably detrimental both to the health and education of all the children who attend them'. Proprietary schools, the majority of which were girls' schools, were seen as generally inferior to the parochial and Free Church schools. Proprietary schools had been established by benevolent ladies for the purpose of 'educating the daughters and younger boys of the work-people':

> When the teacher is certificated, and there is no industrial training to be got elsewhere, these schools, which supply such education, are appreciated. But in many cases not only are the school buildings insufficient, but the teachers are indifferent. [45]

Girls' proprietary schools were deemed even worse than those for boys. It was reported that the ladies who established such schools not only preferred single-sex education, they did not consider that the teaching in girls' schools need be as good as in boys' schools. The Argyll Commissioners judged the educational consequences most unsatisfactory, with the girls at these private schools learning 'less than nothing': 'their writing is bad, their reading slovenly, their spelling indifferent, and they do not learn the simplest elements of arithmetic'. [46]

An Assistant Commissioner who investigated schools in the country districts of Scotland argued in favour of infant schools. He believed that if the mother was in paid employment, infant schools would obviate the need to keep the elder daughter at home to look after the infants. He reported that parents believed that women were better suited than men to the teaching of infants, and that the infant mistress should be trained and certificated, and well paid: 'she should teach them, boys and girls, until they were seven or eight; then the boys at least should be sent to the advanced department'. [47] Yet the Assistant Commissioners for Glasgow reported rivalry between male and female teachers. Instead of the division of labour in which the mistress taught the infants, the master the advanced branches, the teachers competed for scholars: 'In one school in Calton, so far from the mistress in the floor above teaching the girl scholars of the master in the floor below, he brought in another mistress one hour daily to teach them the ordinary female accomplishments.' [48]

Schooling in the advanced department, it was unanimously agreed, should be left to the male graduate, continuing the tradition of the parish dominie. Mr. Sellar advocated a combination of university education and normal school training for the male teacher, arguing that the former made the man, the latter the teacher. The Assistant Commissioner who examined the normal schools in Glasgow considered the education they provided as too narrowly professional for the male pupil-teacher, and that some university education would broaden it:

> unless we wish education in Scotland reduced to the same dead-level of quality, and our parish school system assimilated in all respects to the lower ideal of education existing in England, the teachers sent forth by the normal schools will fall below our former traditions and requirements. [49]

It was not proposed that every schoolmaster should attend university, but it was considered desirable that teachers in the rural parish schools and in the larger and more important schools in the towns should have the benefits of the general culture afforded by time at university.

As Cruikshank pointed out, the Argyll Commission was concerned with getting value for money. Mixed schooling was cost effective. The Commissioners also deemed it an important consideration whether the cost of education might not be diminished by the more frequent employment of women. They recognised that whereas in England, 46 per cent of certificated teachers were women, in Scotland it was only 30 per cent. Indeed in Glasgow, the supply of schoolmistresses outstripped demand. The Commissioners felt that female teachers were essential only in certain circumstances:

> In the town schools there is not so much economy in employing women as there is in rural schools. In the mixed town schools of Scotland, the only case in which women are essential is in that of infant schools, which, however, are by no means numerous. But in the more remote rural districts, and the Highlands and Islands, the only means of establishing an efficient school seems to be by employing a schoolmistress. The salary is lower, but the work is such that it can be perfectly well performed by a well-trained female. [50]

Moreover, she could teach sewing and domestic economy. The appointment at a moderate salary of schoolmistresses was advocated in outlying districts with a small population. [51] It would seem, then, that the suggestion that the infant teacher be well paid referred only to the more populous districts. Indeed, the Assistant Commissioners for Glasgow believed that, however satisfactory a female teacher, her pupils could never reach the proficiency of those taught by a male teacher:

> The truth is, if a mistress is to teach all the branches of an elementary education, and, in addition, professes to give the children sewing, cutting-out, knitting, etc., she is necessarily withdrawn too much from the one or the other; whereas when the authority of the master is paramount he can arrange the classes so as to save a redundancy of labour, and to effect the greatest good at his disposal. [52]

Female teachers were more common in the Highlands and Islands, generally for reasons of cost, but by implication because elementary education was deemed both necessary and sufficient for a population which had to 'catch up' with the Lowland ideal of educational meritocracy. The Assistant Commissioner for the Highlands and Islands was a young Advocate based in Edinburgh, Alexander Nicolson, himself a Gaelic-speaking native of Skye. He argued that the schools run by female teachers were often superior to those presided over by a man, because the women had Normal School training. Thus what was seen as a lowering of national educational standards outside the Highlands and Islands - that is, the employment of female teachers - was accepted as an efficient means of raising standards there. In any case, as the Argyll Commissioners noted, it was difficult and expensive to entice male graduates to poor parishes which covered enormous areas, far from urban civilisation. The sting in the tail was that women were deemed more suitable precisely because their education was more narrowly professional, they were cheaper to employ, and by implication they had fewer chances of more prestigious appointments in the Lowlands. At the same time, the performance of women teachers brought grudging respect from Assistant Commissioner Nicolson:

> If qualified by preliminary Normal-School training, without which they might be considered more helpless than men to conduct a school, properly so-called, they would be perfectly adequate to take charge of boys as well as girls, while they would import special instruction to pupils of their own sex in sewing and other female work. That competent schoolmistresses are able to manage even big boys, as well as girls, I have seen more than one example of in the district [Tiree]. This may not be the case everywhere, but Highland boys are usually not disposed to rudeness or insubordination. [53]

Implicitly, women teachers would not be so successful or suitable in mixed schools in urban environments such as Glasgow where lower-class boys were less chivalrous: the noble savage was clearly less difficult to control, and could safely be left to the academically inferior though still professionally competent woman teacher. Nicolson felt that female teachers would impart a civilising, domesticating influence in remote areas. In addition, he felt that in more populous, but scattered districts, savings could be made by merging the schools situated near each other under a female head teacher, if necessary with a female assistant to instruct the infants and the girls. He reiterated the general argument that women were best suited to infant teaching and hinted strongly that infants were better instructed in schools than at home. [54]

The records of the SSPCK in the early nineteenth century show calls by their inspectors for better qualified teachers, in contrast to the laments in the Lowlands for the decline of university-educated dominies. [55] Yet there was strong commendation of female teachers of sewing, and a glimpse of teaching partnerships, between husband and wife, brother and sister, which the Argyll Commission showed to be common. Of one husband and wife team, an SSPCK Inspector had reported in 1834 that:

> The late teacher sometime before his death built at his own expense, a small house immediately adjoining the school for the residence of his widow in case she survived him. She now resides there and continues to teach the female school which she does very efficiently. She has always more than 25 to 30 scholars and she is very diligent and has been of great use in the district.

Another widow of an SSPCK teacher was reported in July 1835 as being in charge of the female school of six girls, in which she had one girl read while the next sewed. It was, wrote the inspector, 'an exceedingly good plan'. [56] Thirty years later at the time of the Argyll Commission's report, the SSPCK was calling for economies to be made by employing female teachers and considered it acceptable for the schoolmaster's wife at Newmill to conduct the sewing school, despite having children of her own. The Inspector justified this view:

> As her youngest child is now 12 years old, she is likely to be able to give due

> attention to her duties if the Directors should agree to grant her a salary of say £3 a year for teaching sewing an hour and a half daily. [57]

However, in a further case that year, it was felt that the young age of another schoolmaster's children prevented his wife from 'giving that strict and singular attention to her duties which they demand'. [58]

2.2.ii: Attendance

The Commissioners noted that in Scotland education of girls and boys began later than in England (at six years of age, compared to four); but while there was a somewhat larger proportion of pupils over twelve years of age than in England, comparatively few Scottish children remained in school after that age. Generally the reasons for withdrawing children from school were to earn money, and to help at home. The reports did not greatly differentiate between reasons for withdrawing girls from those for boys. However, the conclusion of the report on Glasgow pointed to poverty and the consequent need for children's wages as key factors in poor attendance, and:

> in the case of both boys and girls, but especially the latter, the necessity that there is for their services at home. Some girls have to perform the household duties in the absence of the mother at work. Others are required to assist their mothers, and especially to take charge of the younger children; and both boys and girls to run errands, and to make themselves useful in other ways. [59]

In their report on the country districts of Scotland, the Assistant Commissioners recorded that few children went to school before the age of five, and the maximum period of attendance, for girls and boys, was only four and a half years. In some areas, such as Kircudbright and Ross, female labour prevailed in the fields, but not in others, notably Aberdeenshire. Seasonal work on the land led to long periods of absence from school. Boys from ten years old could earn 8d to 1s a day in the south at potato-planting, bark-peeling, turnip-hoeing and such occupations, while in the north they could earn 20s to 40s, with their food, for a half year's employment. Daughters were

more often expected to stay at home, to take care of the house and of their younger siblings, while their mothers worked in the fields. The Assistant Commissioners observed that the boys who worked in the fields were much wilder than the girls. [60]

Indeed, the standard of boys' education in the country districts was below that of girls at the same age who were kept at school until they were 13, while boys as young as ten were sent out to herd. They also reported that in Penicuik, at Cowans' paperworks, where boys generally assisted the men, some girls at least had the opportunity to do clerical work. The Cowans had established separate male and female evening schools for their workers, and from the evidence of attendance, it seemed that the girls were more anxious to learn than the boys. The latter were expected, and had to be forced, to attend, but the girls were not; yet many girls who lived at a considerable distance from the school attended. One reason may have been that while children would not be employed in the paper mill until they were 13 years old and able to read and write, young women over 18 years of age would be taken on, despite being illiterate, a condition which embarrassed them. [61]

The Assistant Commissioners for Glasgow were very critical of half-time education, yet noted the prevalence of child labour which adversely affected school attendance. Girls and boys in the Clyde district were employed in the tobacco industry as young as seven, but mostly from the age of nine. In the Tradeston district on the southside of the River Clyde, many boys aspired to become engineers, and were taught mechanics. The only industrial training given to girls in a city which favoured the male dominated sector of heavy industry was in sewing. The general complaint, in Glasgow as elsewhere, was that the girls were far from proficient with the needle. Plain sewing was taught as a rule, but the girls seemed to prefer fancy needlework, crochet and knitting. The sewing mistress of an Episcopalian Church school in the Milton district of Glasgow stated that few of the girls' mothers knew how to sew and cut out, and that in effect, she was teaching them through their daughters. [62] As we shall see below, the parents did not share this sewing teacher's opinion.

The SSPCK had been complaining since the eighteenth century that more boys than girls attended their schools. They seemed to see the girls as the key to civilising the Highlands and Islands. [63] In his report to the Argyll Commission, Nicolson himself seemed more interested in the cleanliness, neatness and discipline

girls could learn in school than with any academic ability; yet he insisted on the necessity of the '3Rs' (in English) for girls. Many of the schools he visited were private, often founded by some benevolent lady, such as Lady Dunsmore's embroidery school on Harris, where of the 26 pupils, ten could not read at all, and only three could write. [64] It seems that the girls and women had to spend their whole time at embroidery, in order to earn an average of sixpence a day.

Various societies, including the Church of Scotland Ladies' Gaelic School Association, were pledged to support schools in destitute Highland areas. Destitution meant frequent absence. Astonishingly, we are able to glimpse the occasional lass of parts, despite the educational deprivation. Nicolson reported, in a footnote, that on North Uist:

> In regard to their capacity to make use of educational advantages, I may mention that in a thatched cottage near Balranald, I saw a considerable row of prizes, and almost all first prizes, carried off a few weeks before from the Free Church Normal School in Edinburgh, by a daughter of the house, a girl of about 17. [65]

Yet this same Assistant Commissioner implied that the people there were indifferent to education. The SSPCK records of thirty years earlier dispute that claim. The report for Shetland and Inverness-shire, for the summer of 1835, notes the popular anxiety for education, and not only among the Presbyterian population. In Arisaig and South Uist in 1834, it was noted that local Catholic priests were sharply critical of their congregation for keeping their children in general, and daughters in particular, away from school. The Argyll Commission had noted that religious differences had a very limited effect in determining attendance of children at particular schools. It was believed, however, that neither the Catholic nor the Episcopalian church schools contributed materially to the education of the country districts of Scotland. [66]

The SSPCK inspectors constantly lamented the lack of even basically qualified teachers. Yet in 1835 the assumption had still been that men would be teachers, and the argument was against paying teachers less in Shetland than elsewhere. [67] By the 1860s, however, the Society felt that a trained mistress would be an improvement on an untrained master, reflecting the difficulty of attracting suitable

male candidates to the Highlands and Islands. [68]

Indeed the impression from Nicolson's report is that there were enough talented girls to solve the teacher shortage, if carefully nurtured. Nicolson believed that such clever girls simply needed to be encouraged to devote themselves to teaching. Yet they are difficult to find in the SSPCK reports of the period. [69] For example, the SSPCK Inspector at Balintore in 1868 recorded that in the highest class of seven, only one - a girl - could read with any fluency or accuracy, and only one 'big lad got through the compound rules [in arithmetic]'. [70] Attendance at school was irregular, coinciding with seasonal work. Schools had good rolls from November to March, picking up again in July; but poor rolls in April, May and possibly June. The SSPCK reported half-yearly attendance as a rule. In May 1867, for example, at a sewing school taught by Mrs. Scott, the schoolmaster's wife, at Shelwick, only five very young girls were present when the Inspector visited. He recorded Mrs. Scott explaining that during the winter season the bigger girls attended for sewing exclusively and remained the whole day. [71]

The Argyll Commissioners noted in 1867 that, in those parts of the Highlands and Islands where younger men and women went in the summer to the east-coast and the Lothians for work, they left 'home operations' to be performed by the older people and the young. [72] In practice there was a lack of job opportunities for women in the Hebrides, apart from domestic service - in which there were more openings in the Lowlands - and seasonal employment (spring and harvest) in the fields. Again, there were more chances of such work in the Lowlands. Nicolson reported that from Skye - where unusually women were expected to do out-door work such as hauling peat and seaweed which in more prosperous districts would be performed by horses - there was annual migration in summer of the able-bodied of both sexes to Lothian, in search of field work. It was the men who tended to go also to the East Coast of Scotland, and even to the coast of Fife and Northern Ireland, for work in the fishing industry. Skye seems to have been particularly poor. Nicolson gave figures comparing it to Tiree, where the proportion of women above 16 years of age unable to read, though much larger than that of men, was small compared to the Isle of Skye.

Table 2.6: Literacy Rates in Skye and Tiree for Men and Women over 16 Years of Age, 1866

	Skye		Tiree	
	Males	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**
Persons enumerated	2863	3349	914	993
Can Read	1973	1376	683	574
Cannot Read	890	1973	230	419
Read English & Gaelic	1653	713	560	392
Read Gaelic Only	320	663	38	97
Can Write	1366	415	575	348
Cannot Write	1497	2934	839	635

Source: Education Commission (Scotland). *Report on the State of Education in the Hebrides* by Alexander Nicolson (Edinburgh, 1866), pp.55,62.

In addition, for Skye, Nicolson recorded that of the 1973 men who could read, 1096 could do so fluently, and 877 with difficulty; the corresponding figures for the 1376 females were 665, and 711. [73] This Assistant Commissioner also reported on the state of education in the Hebrides, recording that in Lewis, while women could read Gaelic, few could read English; and few women could write in either language. Despite all the efforts of various societies, particularly the SSPCK, so few of the population were able to read English:

> as to indicate that all the educational power put forth up to a comparatively recent period, has, with the exception of the agency of the Gaelic schools, been of trifling effect, and most specifically and painfully so in respect to the female sex. [74]

Nicolson wrote in a footnote that women in Lewis may have had little use for the art of writing; however, the lack of such a skill served to make them conservative, resistant to change and, by implication, progress. The Registrar-General's returns had revealed that the percentage of signatures by mark in the marriage registers of the Hebrides in 1862 was 47.6 for men, and 64.8 for women - in other words, as Nicolson pointed out, of 376 couples nearly a half of the men and two-thirds of the women were unable to write their names. He contrasted those figures with Edinburgh, where the percentage was only 4.33 for men, and 8.75 for women. [75] The SSPCK records for

July 1868 reveal that in Inch, the younger girls from the local master's school attended the female school for one hour a day, and the bigger girls for the whole day, receiving industrial instruction only, and then chiefly in the winter. It seems that the elder girls were not satisfied, and some of them wanted at least to retain the basic learning they had received in the master's school by receiving instruction in the 'more elementary branch' of literature. The implication was that the sewing mistress instructed them, but not in a very systematic way.[76]

Nicolson saw the power of reading and writing in English as a force for developing what he clearly identified as a backward society. He also pointed out that skills in elementary arithmetic would make the women less vulnerable to fraud and overcharging by shopkeepers, during the frequent, long absences of husbands, sons and brothers. Moreover, being able to write would enable the women to communicate with their absent men directly and intimately, instead of having to rely on a go-between. Nicolson complained particularly of the paucity of women teachers, and not only on Lewis: of the 17 on Lewis, 14 taught only sewing and other industrial work, and existed on meagre salaries. Moreover, eleven of them were sisters of male teachers. The education of women on Lewis was, he charged, particularly neglected:

> The proportion of girls in school, as compared with boys, is lamentably small. Of 2697 scholars on the rolls at the time of my visit, there were 1590 boys and only 1107 girls; in attendance, 922 boys and 684 girls. And yet the female population of the island was in excess of the male in 1861 by 1122 - the numbers being respectively 11,089 and 9967.[77]

Nicolson discussed the reasons for the fact that many fewer girls than boys attended school in the Hebrides:

> The causes of this are numerous, and difficult to overcome. Not only are the women in the Hebrides generally more industrious than the men, but the services of girls are more universally available within doors as without. And there is less scruple in withholding a girl from school than a boy, because learning is not considered so important in her case.[78]

2.2.iii: Sewing

Sewing was a contentious issue. The Commission, moreover, reported confusion among schoolmasters over whether sewing was compulsory, or simply recommended by the Privy Council. The Code of 1860 had stipulated that girls above the age of seven would not be counted towards the government grant unless they were taught sewing. Yet in that year there were reports of unexpected difficulties in complying with the rule to have girls taught needlework in parish schools, due to parental resistance. Reports of such resistance were nationwide, and not restricted to the Lowlands. Thus, while there were also problems of accommodation and finance, it was reported that for the Free Church Schools in the Western Isles:

> the greatest obstacle is the disinclination of many parents, in the rural districts, to allow their daughters to devote part of the day to sewing, etc., giving as a reason, when pressed on the point, that they can receive such instruction equally well at home, or at a later period by occasional attendance at sewing school. [79]

There was a similar report for the Church of Scotland schools in the North East, where it proved difficult to persuade mothers that their daughters could receive better instruction in housework at school than at home or in domestic service. Clearly there was a difference of opinion on this point. In the inspectors' reports for 1851, it was claimed that there was 'scarcely a female servant who can lay or light a common fire with any reference to the nature and economy of the fuel employed, or the precise conditions which are necessary to its burning'. [80]

The 1860 Code did not clarify the situation in Scottish schools because it was only in partial operation due to the resistance to 'payment by results'. The Argyll Commission found considerable variation in the country districts, with sewing taught only in some schools. Indeed, while the introduction of sewing was generally supported, there was a fear that if insisted upon, it could bring hardship to poor districts. Rather than having a sewing mistress in each school, at considerable expense to the parish, one good sewing school was advocated for the whole district. Moreover, there were warnings of possible deception if the cost of paying the sewing

mistress fell on the schoolmaster. Thus in a poor district, where the numbers did not merit a female assistant who could also teach sewing, the teacher might try to evade the stipulation by either (in the words of a schoolmaster who was interviewed):

> getting some female who knows little of sewing, to make a fashion of teaching a few girls to stitch, in order to save his conscience, or else getting some neighbour or friend to come to give the girls a few lessons before the inspector comes to seek a specimen, which, it is quite possible, he may see several years in succession. [81]

The fear was of an oversupply of schoolmistresses through the sewing regulations. More generally, opposition to the 1860 Code was based on concerns that the emphasis on elementary education would lower the traditional quality of the instruction given in parochial schools. If the teacher was to be paid by the number of children who passed, and girls taught sewing, then the higher branches would suffer and 'the pride and glory of a schoolmaster's profession would be destroyed'; Scottish education would be reduced to the uniformity of English elementary schools where the standard was deemed by the Commissioners to be lower. [82] That lower English standard was associated with the widespread use of female teachers.

Still, schoolmistresses could teach sewing, as well as being cheaper to employ, both recognised as necessary to improve education in the Highlands and Islands. Nicolson's report showed that the percentage of girls learning needlework in the Hebrides was 37.4, which was relatively close to the average for the rest of Scotland, at 42.6. He regretted the paucity of sewing mistresses, as well as the practical difficulties in the way of introducing laundry work or plain cooking on a wider scale. [83] Yet Nicolson insisted that the lack of education of women in the Hebrides was not a true indication of their position in society:

> They are by no means treated as inferior animals by the other sex, and the intercourse with them is usually marked by kindly consideration, sometimes distinguished by true courtesy; wife-beating is a practice not yet introduced into the Hebrides. [84]

The savage was indeed noble, and his female partner judged more womanly (if not more feminine) than her Lowland urban counterpart.

Like the Argyll Commissioners, the SSPCK inspectors stressed the need for domestic subjects, especially sewing, for girls. In 1867, the sister of the schoolmaster of Thrumister, complained that her sewing school was poorly attended:

> This department - the industrial - is very much neglected by the girls attending the Master's school none of whom have been receiving sewing lessons for a fortnight past. The mistress complains that their parents wish them to devote all their time to her brother's school. [85]

Thus, as in the Lowlands, there was resistance to the inclusion of sewing in the curriculum for girls. Yet again and again, there was praise for the skills of the sewing mistresses, who by implication were not appreciated either by their charges or the parents. Indeed, the call for female teachers in the Highlands was not simply about saving money and supplying a lower, elementary standard of education. There was a demand, by the Argyll Commissioners and the school inspectors for better trained teachers: the mistress had to have a certificate. In 1867, at the SSPCK female school in Lismore, the teacher was reported to be unsuited to the job. There was no complaint about her character - 'personally worthy' - but it was felt that at over 60 years of age, and disabled, and after 30 years of service to the Society, she should now be superannuated, and replaced by a certificated mistress. [86]

The reliance on older women in straitened circumstances to teach seems common in the Highlands and Islands, from the SSPCK reports of the period. Thus in 1868, at the Millhouse Sewing School in Kilfinan, the teacher, a Mrs Jane McKellar, was 'considerably past the prime of life', in poor circumstances, with irregular attendance of the 13 girls on her roll. Her income and expenses revealed how precarious the situation of such female teachers was: her annual income from the school was £5 salary, plus £3.5s. in fees; the rent for the attic in which she lived and taught was £4.5s. In another parish (of Strachur), the sewing mistress, Miss Isabella Morrison, seemed to be in her fifties, and while the girls appeared to be making progress, only five of the 12 on the roll were present on the day of the inspection. Teaching sewing for 90 minutes a day, Miss Morrison was in reduced circumstances.

In Balbair, the sewing school was only yards away from the parish school. The sewing mistress, Miss Fraser, was deemed satisfactory by the SSPCK inspector; but there is a hint of sectarian tension. Lord Lovat wanted a Catholic sewing mistress, but the SSPCK inspector saw no need for two schools, while insisting that such a person would not be acceptable to the parish school. Miss Fraser, a very respectable person, had been connected with the Society since 1859. Over 40 years old, she supported her frail, elderly mother by dressmaking and teaching sewing. No accommodation was provided, and Miss Fraser had to meet the additional expense of rent (for 'a miserable hut') from her meagre wages. [87]

It seems to have been realised by SSPCK Inspectors that separate sewing schools, which were advocated by the Argyll Assistant Commissioners for large Lowland country districts with scattered populations, were not attracting girls in the Highlands and Islands. Hence the stress on incorporating sewing into the main school. Perhaps, too, the call for a schoolmistress reflected an attempt to make sewing, identified by the authorities as a necessary part of the girls' curriculum, acceptable as simply another branch of instruction by the same teacher. The difficulties of finding a suitably qualified teacher are reflected in the experience of the SSPCK in Shetland, in 1867, which incidentally reveals the dependence on recruiting members of the same family:

> It is so difficult to procure a well-qualified sewing mistress in Shetland that at the urgent request of the Parish Minister I consented to the interim appointment of Miss Beck, a person of tidy, active habits, about 25 years of age said to be an excellent needlewoman and to know something of dressmaking.
>
> Miss Beck is a native of Dumfriesshire and sister to the wife of the Society's male teacher here. She had come to Shetland to visit her sister but consented to remain provided she should be asked to begin work now. It is so very desirable to have as a sewing mistress one who is not a native and who by example as well as precept is likely to teach the children to keep themselves clean and tidy that in order to secure the services of Miss Beck I have guaranteed her a salary at the rate of £5 a year until the Directors have had an opportunity of confirming the appointment. [88]

From the Lowlands, Miss Beck would be a civilising force among the Shetland girls, and as an untrained woman would fulfil that role at a cheap rate, lodging with her sister and brother-in-law, the schoolmaster. For her part, she seems to have been presented with an unexpected opportunity to earn her keep, however poor the salary.

Assistant Commissioner Nicolson frequently complained of the lack of female teachers, not only for schooling women in the domestic arts, but for providing elementary education cheaply in a poor area such as the Highlands and Islands. [89] One case was recorded in the Highlands, in which a school served the outlying parts of three parishes. It was supported by private benevolence and fees, providing the mistress with an annual income of about £28, and a house. Winter attendance figures were about 35, and summer about 30. Boys of 14 and 15 years of age attended regularly in winter. The education was limited to reading, writing and arithmetic, with sewing for the girls. [90] It seems, then, that female teachers were acceptable in the Highlands and Islands because they were less expensive to employ, and male teachers difficult to attract. In addition, attendance, especially of girls, was poor and irregular before the 1872 Act. Industrialisation in the Lowlands had also had an adverse effect on attendance. The Argyll Commissioners noted that in Scotland, half-time education had never taken root: only one per cent of factory workers were employed in half-time education compared to nine per cent in England. However, in certain areas, notably Dundee and Renfrewshire, half-time education was recognised as the biggest obstacle to improving educational standards. [91]

Besides the schools already discussed, the Argyll Commission looked at charity schools which the Assistant Commissioners for Glasgow deemed as good as the sessional schools, catering for the children of the respectable working class. However, at the level of reformatory and industrial schools, the Assistant Commissioners questioned their effectiveness. The emphasis for boys and girls was on elementary education and industrial training. The sexes were taught in separate schools. For boys, reformatory schools provided industrial training in tailoring, shoemaking, joining, smithing, or coopering; for girls, 'washing and scrubbing, getting up linen and cutting out clothes, cooking and sewing'. Yet it was admitted that girls from reformatory schools found it difficult to get a post in domestic service. [92]

Thus, while the national tradition of education was perceived as a Lowland

one, by the time of the Argyll Commission, that region too was experiencing serious problems in ensuring the 'democratic intellect'.

2.2.iv: Middle-Class Girls' Schooling

The Argyll Commission also reported on burgh and middle-class schools, which were few in number in Scotland. Indeed, it was admitted that it was difficult to define a middle-class school in Scotland. However, in such schools, the pupils were socially middle-class; the education was general, ending in their sixteenth year, which itself distinguished the middle-class experience of schooling from the working-class. Pride was expressed in the fact that any boy who was able to attend a burgh school would have no difficulty in receiving the necessary instruction to enable him to enter the junior classes of Latin, Greek and mathematics in any of the four universities. The Assistant Commissioners underlined the Scottish commitment to education for the talented boys by recording that whereas in Scotland there was at least one matriculated student for every 1,000 of the population, in England the proportion was one to 5,800. [93]

The Assistant Commissioners expressed disapproval of mixed-sex schools for the middle class for social reasons, yet agreed that they were very good intellectually, concluding that girls should have the same educational opportunities as boys, though in separate classrooms and with a lady superintendent. Thus while mixed-sex schools were socially frowned upon 'it is certain that if the separation of boys and girls is insisted upon, it will be difficult to supply the latter with the same educational advantages with which they now enjoy'. [94] Hence there were no academic grounds for disapproving of mixed schools; indeed, separate schools would, it was suggested, be detrimental to female education. Yet it was noted that in the larger cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen, girls were being increasingly 'excluded' from the burgh schools. Private middle-class female schools were outside the scope of the inquiry, while it was recorded that many middle-class boys and girls were educated outside Scotland. [95]

Thus whereas for the working class, mixed-sex schooling was seen as detrimental to morals, for the middle-class it was seen as academically advantageous. Yet the Assistant Commissioners did not approve, reiterating the point made about

parish schools, that it was desirable to separate the sexes after childhood:

> This is a delicate subject, and it is difficult to bring forward evidence to prove the truth of such a conviction. But it seemed to us, that in almost every school in which boys and girls of 15 and 16 years of age were brought together, strangers could not help noticing the existence of irregularities that were unnoticed by teachers. [96]

The report on the country districts of Scotland argued that the civilising influence of the girls on the boys was imperceptible, echoing the claim about mixed-sex parish schools. Indeed, the manners of girls in mixed-sex burgh schools deteriorated, according to the Assistant Commissioners. They worried that although the boys and girls were taught separately, they were in the same building, and that the 'naturally' noisy, exuberant males were bound to show disrespect to the female pupils when their paths crossed on stairs and at classroom entrances. The Assistant Commissioners did not explain why such distractions failed to upset the girls' academic performance, indeed why girls implicitly performed better in mixed than in single-sex schools. Their report made the same assumption as the Duke of Argyll in his questioning of witnesses, that girls benefited from the competition with the boys and from sharing the same schoolmasters:

> where the boys and girls were pitted against each other in their school work, the latter did quite as well as the former. At Kircudbright Academy, where for a small school the classical attainments are high, the second best scholar, both in Latin and Greek, was a girl of 16 years of age, who was reading Homer and Virgil. At Dumfries Academy, where mathematics was taught and learned, at least as well as in any school in Scotland, the best geometrician in the class was a girl of 14 years of age; and in the highest Latin class at Arbroath High School, there was a girl of 17 who had been five years in Latin, and was reading the First Book of Livy quite as successfully as the boys. [97]

Moreover, the girls were thought to excel at modern languages (French and German), while in English they performed as well as the boys. In mixed schools, it was

observed, the girls were more conscientious than the boys, more eager to achieve while the boys were satisfied with passing. The conclusion was that there was therefore no obvious reason for providing middle-class girls with a different education to that of the boys, though they suggested that the girls might study music more diligently than the boys, while the latter valued play-time more than the girls, implying that physical exercise was more necessary for the boys than the girls. There was no suggestion that middle-class girls should learn domestic subjects. However, the Assistant Commissioners praised Inverness Academy for having separate boys' and girls' departments, which though taught by the same teachers were effectively distinct schools - and the girls were not offered Latin, but were taught needlework. [98] Yet if, and perhaps because, these girls had sewing in common with working-class girls, it was still necessary for distinctions in mind and taste to be drawn between the classes:

> The education of the lower classes ends at 12 or 13 years of age. If by that time the children attending the elementary schools are able to read a newspaper without effort and with intelligence; to write a well-spelled letter with ease; or to perform such arithmetical operations as occur in the ordinary business of life, their education, or at least that of the vast majority of them, is complete, and a certain degree of intelligence, if not cultivation, is attained; but from the middle classes we look for something higher. We look for the same intelligence from them at 13 years of age as from the lower classes, but we also expect a certain degree of cultivation in return for the three or four additional years spent at school. [99]

Thus the Scottish educational tradition incorporated middle-class girls academically, and indeed encouraged the lass of parts among them, even as the Assistant Commissioners challenged the custom of mixed schooling. It is not clear what Scottish middle-class girls were being educated for, unless as school teachers. In an appendix to the First Annual Report of the School Board of Education for Scotland, a plan for combining university education with normal school training in order to maintain the tradition of a graduate profession was advocated. Male and female pupil teachers were envisaged as attending normal school for two years and having a two-

year probationary period as teacher of a school, but only male pupil teachers were mentioned when attendance at university was discussed. [100]

2.3: Conclusion

The English concept of elementary education was reserved for the working class, and especially for working-class girls; although the Argyll Commission stressed the need to maintain the window of opportunity for the lad of parts, it also insisted on a gender-specific curriculum with a heavy diet of sewing for girls. The interaction of class, gender and nationality is reflected throughout the Argyll Commission's reports, as is the influence of English practices and attitudes, despite the declared resistance to anglicisation. Scottish working-class girls made limited gains - the Commissioners insisted that they be educated, but also that they be taught domestic skills. Middle-class girls, it was accepted, had the right to equal education with boys - but not beyond school. There were parallel restrictions on male and female teachers. The Commission accepted the necessity of employing more women in schools, against the national tradition, but limited them to teaching sewing, infants, and elementary education to the poor in the Highlands and Islands. Yet it maintained that the democratic tradition in education persisted, that in the parish school system, 'instead of countenancing distinctions between one class and another, every child, of every rank in life, is welcome within the walls of the parish school'. It was recognised that the system was defective, for girls as well as for boys; but for the former, the defects included insufficient stress on domestic subjects. As for teachers, all should hold a certificate of competency, but more was necessary for schoolmasters:

> The Committee of Council will probably continue to examine all schoolmistresses; but for male teachers a common standard will be fixed by the Board and the Committee of Council, to which the University examinees will have to conform. [101]

Girls and women could be part of the national education tradition, indeed had a necessary part to play in upholding it; but they should also know, and be taught, their place. They might reflect the ideal of the democratic intellect, but only service it,

never represent it.

There is disagreement over whether the 1872 Act was an anglicising measure, or a pragmatic response to a changing social, religious and economic context. [102] Again the debates are not concerned with explicitly gender issues. Yet the 1872 Act had particular effects on female education, including improvements in female literacy, reflected in the following table:

Table 2.7: Percentage of Men and Women who Signed the Marriage Registers by Mark

	1872		1882	
	Males	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**
Scotland	10.44	20.52	7	13.9
Northern District (Orkney, Shetland, Caithness, Sutherland)	6.12	11.75	3.62	10.14
North-Western District (Inverness, Ross & Cromarty)	27.83	46.67	21.73	32.57
North-Eastern District (Nairn, Elgin, Banff, Aberdeen, Kincardine)	2.7	7.64	1.04	5.12
East Midland District (Forfar, Perth, Fife, Kinross, Clackmannan)	5.50	13.75	3.59	9.36
West Midland District (Stirling, Dumbarton, Argyll, Bute)	9.43	18.99	8.92	13.06
South-Western District (Renfrew, Ayr, Lanark)	15.23	29.61	10.45	20.18
South-Eastern District (Lothians, Berwick, Peebles, Selkirk)	5.86	9.97	3.23	5.68
Southern District (Dumfries, Kircudbright, Wigton)	4.37	5.99	2.80	5.12

Source: *The Napier Commission* (Edinburgh, 1884), p.69.

The improvement was not uniform, with the Highlands lagging behind; but as chapter

four will show, that gap was to decrease in the later nineteenth century.

While the Argyll Commissioners endeavoured to present a national picture of the state of education, the report's consideration of the urban problems focused on Glasgow, whose particular deficiencies were assumed to be typical, or to serve as a warning of the future. [103] The years between the Argyll Commission and the Education Act of 1872 witnessed considerable controversy over such issues as whether schooling should be compulsory, or denominational; how broad the curriculum should be; and whether teachers, or at least headteachers, should be university-educated, as well as certificated. Though there was no overt discussion of gender issues, female education would be affected by the outcome. For example, a compulsory clause would lead to improved female education, if enforced.

After 1872, the centralising tendencies of the Scotch Education Department, noted in chapter one, and curriculum developments noted here give an impression of uniformity which encourages easy generalisation about a male dominated educational system. The following two chapters will examine these issues through the consideration of regional case studies.

Chapter 3
The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Industrial Scotland, 1872-1900

3.1: Introduction

By the late nineteenth century, the experience of the Scottish education system differed for the sexes - in curriculum, attendance and expectations. As discussed in chapter one, nineteenth-century Scotland had a very regionalised economy. In terms of industry, the engineering and shipbuilding sector was focused on Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire; coal and steel on Ayrshire, Stirlingshire, Fife and West Lothian; and textiles in the Dundee region, Renfrewshire (notably Paisley), and the Borders. [1] This chapter will concentrate first on the textile areas, in particular the Dundee region and Renfrewshire which was within the orbit of Glasgow's heavy industrial base. It will then consider the heavy industry areas, notably of Ayrshire, Lanarkshire and Dunbartonshire, again within the orbit of Glasgow, concluding with a case study of Glasgow. The Glasgow School Board was the biggest in Scotland, and arguably faced the biggest pressures of industrialisation and immigration in the nineteenth century. It was here that the Scottish educational tradition of democracy and universality was most profoundly tested.

Both Dundee and Paisley had relatively few women in domestic service and in trades. [2] Dundee, however, was unique in Scotland, indeed in Britain, in its reliance on a single industry - textiles - and within that industry, on jute. Certainly, there were other industries in the region, but in effect jute dominated so that the region's economy was very imbalanced. Another unique feature about Dundee was its reliance on female labour. Consequently, not only was it a low-wage economy, but often the women were the breadwinners in the family. In Dundee, the manufacturing sector accounted for as much as 79.9 per cent of employed women, compared to 43.74 per cent in Glasgow, 39.57 per cent in Aberdeen and 25.19 per cent in Edinburgh. [3]

Women's waged work is usually portrayed as unskilled. When women became semi-skilled in the later nineteenth century, the common explanation, given by contemporaries as well as by historians, points to the dilution of male skills. In Dundee, Eleanor Gordon found that by 1861, women outnumbered men by three to two; that women also made up 43 per cent of the total labour force, while a relatively

high proportion (around a quarter) of married women worked. [4] Moreover, women monopolised the skilled jobs in spinning and weaving - and not only in the new industry of jute, but also in the traditional flax and linen industries. In consequence, Dundee was also noted for its unemployed men, and for the migration of skilled men, often to Glasgow to the male-dominated heavy industry and shipbuilding sector. Still, skilled women workers in Dundee were paid less than men, and were supervised by male overseers.

Keith Burgess has explained that wage differentials were greater in Scotland than elsewhere because of the plentiful supply of unskilled labour. [5] His argument seems even more convincing when the centrality of women's labour in the Dundee region is taken into account, along with the hypothesis that Scottish women were more migratory than men within their own country. [6] Census returns show that women predominated among the adult Irish immigrants in Dundee, while the opposite was the case in Glasgow. The Dundee economy was more subject to fluctuations and unemployment because of its heavy reliance on a single industry. In Dundee, there was widespread poverty and severe overcrowding among the working class, exacerbated by mass immigration from the surrounding rural areas, from the Highlands and Ireland, with consequent sectarian and ethnic tensions. [7]

Still, the woman worker throughout industrial Scotland continued to be defined by her household responsibilities, although the centrality of female employment in Dundee undermined the Victorian ideal of domesticity. Eleanor Gordon's Dundee study challenges both the stereotype of the subordinate, passive woman worker and the presumption that not only was waged work a burden for women, but that it was unremitting, dismal toil. These women took a pride in their work; they enjoyed the company of their co-workers; and they complained of their grievances. [8]

The main focus of this chapter is the public, or Board, schools, established with the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872. However, the situation in Catholic schools will also be considered to reflect the fact that Scottish national identity was not only conceived as masculine; it was Presbyterian. While, as pointed out in the previous chapter, the essence of Scottishness was still seen to be Protestantism, by the later nineteenth century that was not the only source of national identity. There was a large Catholic minority (from the Highlands as well as from Ireland) which kept itself

outside of the national education system, which had its own crisis of identity, and which sustained its identity through separate schools as well as through the Church. [9]

3.2 : Working-Class Girls' Education in the Textile Regions of Dundee and Renfrewshire

How, then, did the local economy influence the education of working-class girls? Reports on education in Dundee reveal that it was in a particularly difficult position. Dundee had been the Scottish town most heavily dependent on adventure schools before the 1872 Act. There were more half-timers in Dundee than elsewhere in Scotland. Half-timers were employed in the mills, usually under the supervision of a woman worker, for either ten hours every other day, with alternate days in the mill school, or from 5am until 11am at work, then the afternoon in school. Half-timers were especially common in the country areas. The census reports of 1871 and 1881 reveal that the proportion of children who went to school in Dundee was considerably below the average for Scotland as a whole. [10] The Dundee School Board seems to have been heavily influenced by the millowners, granting many more school exemptions for child labour than elsewhere in Scotland. Their views were reflected in the local newspaper, *The Dundee Advertiser*, in which as late as 1889 it was argued that half-time education was beneficial, because it kept children, especially girls, in state-inspected schools.

> Between Standards lll and lV the number of boys in day schools drops from 1580 to 1500, but of girls from 1465 to 1194. In half-time school the number of boys increases from 47 in Standard lll to 421 in Standard lV, while girls rise from 71 to 406. This would seem to indicate that but for the half-time system the educational position of girls might be worse than it is.

However, it was admitted that attendance figures across the different standards revealed that, from the infants, boys were more likely to be present than girls, and that the attendance gap widened thereafter. It was also recognised that the girls' curriculum was very limited in half-time schools:

> Beyond the three R's, the girls' class subject, Needlework, and their specific subject, Domestic Economy, are more largely taught than any other class or specific subject.... For every 100 girls in Standard I to Ex-VI, 91 are taught Needlework, and for every 100 girls in Standard V to Ex-VI (those eligible for this subject) 57 are taught Domestic Economy. [11]

The percentages of children taught Specific Subjects in Dundee's schools in 1889 confirmed that a minority received more than elementary education. They also highlighted the gendered nature of the curriculum, with the overwhelming focus on domestic economy for girls.

Table 3.1: Specific Subjects Taken in the Schools under Dundee School Board 1888-89

	Boys %	Girls %
Latin	18.9	1.4
Greek	0.3	-
French	8.1	13.7
German	1.0	2.1
Mathematics	19.1	1.8
Mechanics	11.0	1.9
Chemistry	0.6	-
Physics	-	-
Physiography	8.1	5.6
Physiology	0.25	0.9
Botany	-	0.3
Domestic Economy	-	56.8

Source: *The Dundee Advertiser*, 1.4.1889.

Thus the impression is of an even greater stress on sewing in the school log books and HMI reports in the Dundee region especially. For example, in the log book for the Abbey Public School in Arbroath, in March 1888, it was recorded that:

> The girls who are preparing work for the Glasgow Exhibition have since Thursday been giving their whole time in school to it, except the hours of Arithmetic (or Book-Keeping) and for French in the case of those who take that subject. [12]

Yet there was resistance to this stress on sewing. The log book for Drumgeith Public School (Dundee Landward School Board) recorded for 12 March 1877: 'A number of girls who are careless in bringing sewing and knitting were desired to do so at once'.

The HMI Report for Butterburn Public School for half-timers (18 January 1887) lamented that while knitting was good: 'sewing on the whole [is] only fair. Many of the girls in the higher classes had no finished garments to show. This must not occur again, else the needlework grant will be endangered.' That threat seemed to work, for the following report for January 1888 noted that needlework was much improved. The headmaster of Ancrum Road Public School (in the Lochee district of Dundee) wrote in the log book for 11 October 1875:

> I find that some of the girls are not bringing material for sewing regularly and are sometimes going home instead of into the room where they sew. To prevent this I locked the door today whilst they were changing rooms.

This drastic action had some effect, since he reported two days later that all the girls were bringing sewing. Other headmasters recorded similar difficulties. The headmaster of Carmyllie West Public School wrote, on 15 March 1867, that he found it hard to get arithmetic taught to the girls without interfering with their sewing hours; but he had made up the lost time in arithmetic when the female teacher was absent the following month. He repeated this complaint throughout the 1870s, that the older girls especially had too little time for arithmetic because they had to spend too long on sewing. Certainly, in 1876, sewing was changed from being an everyday activity for girls to twice a week - but they had to spend two hours each time on it. At Hill Public School, the headmaster cautioned a male teacher in February 1886 not to keep the girls from sewing. Yet at Monifieth Public School, a female teacher sent five girls who were idling when they should have been sewing, to get arithmetic as a 'punishment'.

The HMIs and the ladies appointed by the Board to inspect the girls' industrial work insisted, without explanation, on its necessity. The HMI report of February 1893 for Mitchell Street Public School declared, without elaboration, that 'Needlework is good for half-timers', implying that such a sentiment was self-evidently correct. The headmaster of Monifieth Public School, however, complained of the demands sewing made on the female pupil teachers. He recorded in November 1888 the Board's decision that they be given instruction in sewing an hour each day, which left them only four hours for the other subjects. He calculated that they could

devote only about 20 minutes to each of those. He was very disapproving, especially as the female pupil-teachers had to assist in the industrial work of the school, on top of their own sewing lessons.

The emphasis on sewing and knitting may be seen as related to the dominant industry of textiles. Interestingly, the Dundee schools were more tolerant of knitting than schools in Renfrewshire (though, as we shall see, there was a similar tolerance for knitting in Lanarkshire). It is also interesting that the girls were seen to be more interested in knitting than in sewing, which may have been related to cost, to the difficulties of keeping sewing clean and to which was more useful to the girls' families. In addition, while the School Board insisted - following government education policy - that sewing was for girls only, there were reports of boys earning money by this skill. Thus at St. Stephen's R.C. School, there were complaints between 1869 and 1875 that boys were kept from attending because they were required to sew sacks at home, mind the children and go messages.

There were fears that the girls, especially the half-timers, would be deficient at domestic skills, particularly cooking. Of the few Specific Subjects offered, girls were obliged to take domestic economy. [13] Even without that regulation, one HMI wrote to the headmaster of Hill Public School in January 1880 that 'it would, of course, be necessary to teach them that subject'. When practical cookery was introduced for the girls of Sixth Standard at Butterburn Public School in 1892, it was regretted that lessons could not begin earlier:

> As the girls of the Vth Standard are nearly all half-timers, and few of them remain for the Vlth Standard instruction, it seems desirable that arrangements should be made to give them a course of lessons in cookery, as otherwise they leave for work without any knowledge of that important subject.

Two years later the HMI was pleased to note that all the girls in the lVth Standard and upwards now received instruction in practical cookery. Yet a major drawback was that half of the girls had to attend other, distant schools for lessons. He recommended that a kitchen might easily be erected in the girls' playground of their own school. Yet it is doubtful how useful these lessons were, given the brief nature of the course (from five to eight weeks), the paucity of equipment, and the frequent absences of the girls.

Indeed, the headmaster of Abbey Public School in Arbroath reminded the teacher of Standards Vl and ExVl that these pupils were not under the same obligation to attend school as those in the lower standards, and that 'every effort at this stage should be made to exempt girls'.

At the same time, some headmasters complained of girls being too frequently detained at home on 'washing-day' and urged more regular attendance. The headmaster of Monifieth Public School recorded on 17 May 1884 that one of his female pupils 'has at least two days in every week devoted to washing or some other household work'. Even the head of Abbey Public School who tolerated labour exemptions for female pupils criticised mothers for keeping daughters off school to help with domestic chores. It seems that it was more acceptable for girls to be working in the mills than for their mothers at home, or indeed to be taught household skills in school than at home.

Though there were occasional complaints of boys being kept at home for domestic chores, the Dundee log books complain more often of them being kept from school for potato-picking, working as scarecrows and carrying golf clubs. It seems that among the older pupils, both sexes had irregular attendance because of outdoor work, including planting, turnip hoeing and fruit picking. Poor weather and a downturn in the economy - both frequent occurrences - accounted for ill-attendance for boys as well as girls. However, the biggest obstacle to improving their educational standards was recognised by the Dundee headteachers to be the system of half-time work. The mistress of St. Andrew's R.C. girls' school (Overgate) noted in the 1870s that the poverty of parents meant that their children had to work in the mills. Half-timers seem to have been more irregular in attendance than full-timers, and she claimed that many of the girls were employed 'much below age'. She also recorded a strike among the half-timers for more pay in December 1874. When the two mills in which most of her pupils were employed closed for repairs in October 1875, the school attendance did not improve. Instead, the half-timers sought work in other mills, some as full-timers though they were under age. It was, she complained, a recurring problem.

Boys as well as girls were half-timers. The headmaster of Drumgeith Public School, which he ran for more than thirty years from the 1870s into the twentieth century, recorded his frustration with the system throughout his log book. Yet from

the figures recorded in the log books of two of the schools (Dudhope Public School, Dundee, and Abbey Public School, Arbroath - see the table below), it seems that fewer girls stayed on at school than boys, with numbers of girls falling considerably from as early as Standard lll. At the same time, these figures do not mean that girls left school in Dundee at a younger age than boys. Rather, where they had to work they often failed to pass from the lower standards. Moreover, as the schools attached to the mills were gradually closed in the 1890s, the half-timers had to turn to Public, or Board, Schools, and because of the pressure of numbers on limited accommodation, many did not even begin school until they were ten, or even 13.

Table 3.2: Numbers Enrolled at Two Schools in 1886

	Abbey Public School, Arbroath		**Dudhope Public School, Dundee**	
	Boys	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**
Standard 1	60	20	70	56
Standard 2	60	50	61	54
Standard 3	50	50	43	37
Standard 4	55	50	45	22
Standard 5	50	35	39	21
Standard 6	24	16	13	5

Sources: Abbey Public School, Arbroath, log book entry for 7 December, 1886, p.178; Dudhope Public School, Dundee, Log Book entry for 5 January 1886, p.104.

Dundee was the exception in Scotland in its reliance on female labour, a high proportion of whom were Irish Catholics, and on half-time education. The two would seem to be connected. Certainly, children's educational experience was gendered in keeping with Victorian ideas of female domesticity; but in Dundee, whatever the emphasis put on teaching girls sewing and cooking, the School Board was influenced significantly by the demands of mill owners for female labour, while the poverty, lower than average wages and higher cost of living, ensured that school was a brief and episodic experience for most working-class children, and especially for girls.

The log books for Renfrewshire as a whole reveal that schools faced similar problems to the Dundee region, most notably poverty and the demand for child labour. Paisley in particular resembled Dundee in many ways, despite its close proximity to Glasgow. Paisley was also a textile town, with a significant Irish

population, and a heavy reliance on child labour. Indeed, more married women worked in Paisley than in Dundee. [14] However, there were differences. Many men, as well as women, were employed in the textile industry, while Paisley experienced migration as well as immigration. In addition, Paisley concentrated on high fashion goods, and many male weavers' wives and daughters worked in the thread mills. [15] Nineteenth-century Paisley had developed earlier than Dundee. That development was linked to the production of muslim and silk, and especially the patterned shawl. In addition, women, particularly migrant workers from the Highlands, worked in the Renfrewshire bleachfields.

The Renfrewshire logs also show an emphasis on sewing for girls, but in contrast to Dundee, entries indicate that the teachers considered it detrimental to female education, while there was considerable resistance on the part of parents and children. Three of a family left St. Lawrence's R.C. School in Greenock in July 1866, 'the children giving for the cause that sewing was "disagreeable to them" although the same have not sewed any for many weeks past'. Two years later, in March, it was recorded that 'some females will not sew, saying their parents object to it'. [16] On this occasion, the teacher urged them to sew, pointing out the benefits they would derive from it. Unfortunately, these were not listed in the log, perhaps because they were considered too obvious. One reason the girls of St. Mary's R.C. School in Paisley gave in May 1876 for not bringing any sewing was that 'their mothers have nothing for them to sew'. [17]

At Carbrook St. Public School in Paisley, the common complaint was voiced in September 1879 that 'the sewing of the girls interferes with their arithmetic'. [18] That the time spent on sewing meant correspondingly less time on the three 'Rs' was shown in St. Mary's when the head teacher recorded in February 1876 that 'this afternoon the girls brought no sewing so arithmetic and writing was over the whole school'. [19] Sewing was seen to be particularly irksome in mixed sex schools. The headmaster of St. Lawrence's R.C. School in Greenock wrote in September 1865 that the children were making good progress, all except the girls who attended the sewing class, which, he insisted, in a mixed school retarded the progress of little girls very much. At the end of that year, he reiterated that point: 'Find that in a mixed school where needlework is taught that girls cannot be expected to know either as much grammar or arithmetic as boys'. There are hints that this is what the parents resented about the

stress on sewing for their daughters. This headmaster recorded that what the parents wanted above all was for their children, daughters as much as sons, to be able to read. Even writing and arithmetic could wait until that skill was imparted. Their attitude he described as: 'We are the guardians of our children and if you do not teach them as we wish, we will send them elsewhere'. [20]

Unlike Dundee, Renfrewshire teachers were less tolerant of knitting as a substitute for sewing, which resembled more the Glasgow attitude. The prejudice was never explained except to point out that the Government grant was for sewing only. The implication is that the girls preferred knitting to sewing, which perhaps, as suggested above, was more useful to their parents. The Renfrewshire log books, like those for the Dundee region, complain that mothers kept both sons and daughters, but more commonly the latter, from school if they were needed to help with domestic chores at home. Thus, at St. John's R.C. school in Port Glasgow, it was noted in September 1885 that 'mothers keep their children, especially their girls, at home to 'mind the house' or 'mind the child' when they themselves are attending church services'. This same teacher lamented the absence of a female pupil-teacher, on whom Catholic schools were very dependent, in February 1888:

> Her mother is very ill, but she has a sister of nearly her own age, who I understand remains constantly at factory work while Margaret absents herself from school, possibly considering this work the least important of the two. It is not the first occasion on which such an idea has seemed to prevail here. [21]

The teacher did not consider whether the remuneration for the factory work was higher than that of the pupil-teacher. Most of the head teachers, however, accepted the attraction of the former for the older girls. It seems above all to have been a matter of economic necessity that the girls work, rather than a resistance to formal education. The head teacher of St. John's R.C. mixed school in Port Glasgow lamented in October 1887 that 'one by one girls who thought to work on in school in prospect of a vacancy, have left for employment which would presently add a little to the family income. A few were required at home'. [22] At Grahamston Public School in Barrhead, there was poor and irregular attendance of the girls of Standard lV, with the implication that they were kept away either by the demands of the home or the

factory. [23] As in Dundee, the teachers found the system of half-time education deeply frustrating. Indeed, there seem to have been efforts to stop it in 1895 at one Catholic school, St. James's, in Renfrew:

> I have great difficulty in making the girls (who were formerly half-timers) attend school. Although the manager of the mill got notice to refuse their admittance, on the grounds that the Rev. T. McEvoy did not recognise half-timers in this school and that the half-time book would not be signed, [the manager] has deliberately engaged them, or allowed them to work whenever they put in an appearance at the mill. [24]

There was an unspoken fear that the low level of female education would continue into the next generation. The head teacher of Carbrook St. Public School remarked in November 1878 that his pupils were not getting any help at home with their lessons, mainly because of their mothers' ignorance. Yet he opined that 'the hope of Scotland lay in her mothers - or at any rate in her homes'. [25] Hence the need for improved female education, not so much for themselves as for the good of the nation. Without educated mothers the educational tradition would be fatally undermined.

3.3: The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in the Regions of Heavy Industry

Glasgow dominated the heavy industrial region of west-central Scotland, and since it was the largest school board in Scotland, covering a fifth of the child population, it will be considered separately below. The focus here is on Ayrshire, Dunbartonshire and Lanarkshire, with some reference to Stirlingshire, which had a combination of heavy industry and agriculture. These areas suffered similar problems to Glasgow - such as inadequate buildings and irregular attendance - though on a relatively smaller scale. For example, in the Ayrshire parish of Ardrossan, with a population of 7,000 in 1873, of whom 1166 were school-age children, only 750 were attending school, partly because the accommodation was insufficient. [26]

Yet there was still a pride in the Scottish tradition of universal education, including mixed-sex-schooling. A proposal by Cumnock School Board in 1873 for a new school which would consist of separate departments for girls and boys, each to

accommodate 180 pupils, with an infant school for 200 in the rear of the building, was objected to on two main grounds. Firstly, there was the issue of cost, since girls and boys would need a separate set of teachers and graduation of classes; and secondly, while separate schooling for the sexes prevailed in England, it was against the Scottish custom of mixed schooling. [27] In a region such as Dunbartonshire, where the scattered nature of the population added to the expense of teaching and made it difficult to attract teachers, mixed schooling was found much more cost effective than separating the sexes. Thus at Helensburgh, the Ragged School had opted for a mixed school, with a senior and an infant department, in order to utilise the teaching staff fully a decade before the Education Act, while in 1873, the Arrochar School Board merged a male and female school for the same reasons. [28]

As in the textile areas, before fees were abolished in Board schools in 1889, a frequent reason for non-attendance at school was parental inability to pay, and the family's need for a child's wages, however meagre. However, Boards in the industrial areas seemed more determined to enforce attendance, for girls as well as boys. Generally more girls than boys were reported absent because parents needed them at home. Thus in November 1879, a mother explained to the Kirkintilloch Burgh School Board that her twelve-year old daughter was kept at home to nurse the younger children. In this case, the Board resolved to prosecute. The same Board, in another case in June 1877, had accepted a father's explanation that his twelve-year old daughter was needed to keep house for himself and her brothers. He promised to try to get her to attend half-time. The key difference between the two situations appears to have been the absence of a mother in the latter case. [29]

Family needs were paramount in parental decisions on school attendance, for boys as well as girls. In a similar situation to the second example above, a twelve-year old boy was kept at home by his mother who needed his help. The Board again opted to explore the half-time option, provided he qualified. [30] Such problems continued into the next decade. Thus in September 1886, a boy was kept at home because his mother was at harvest work, while a girl was detained at home to assist her mother, her father being an invalid. In the latter case, the girl was to be sent to night school to complete her education. [31] The extent of this father's invalidity was not recorded. However, in another case, where a miner had hurt his hand, the mother kept her seven-year old daughter at home to assist her. Fathers at home, through

sickness, injury or unemployment, do not seem to have been expected to take over housework or care of the children.

Even where fees were paid by the Parochial Board, parents might still need a child's earnings. At a meeting of 6 May 1878, Glasford Parish School Board in Lanarkshire heard a complaint against a mother for keeping her eleven-year old daughter absent from school for two months. It was stated that the girl was now attending school, but that her mother had secured a position for her daughter to enter domestic service presently, when she had not yet passed the Third Standard. The fact that the girl's fees were paid persuaded the Board to prosecute the mother in the event of her daughter leaving school for service. [32]

There was still a considerable agricultural economy in these areas. Demands for seasonal work on farms kept boys and girls from attending school. The Lesmahagow School Board in Lanarkshire made frequent complaints about the irregularity of attendance, especially of senior girls. For example, in July 1882 it was noted that:

> The worst classes in attendance are from Standard lV upwards, particularly the girls, not one girl being present in the Sixth Standard all week. This is attributable in a great measure to fruit-picking. [33]

However, the general impression given by the school log books is that farm work affected girls and boys equally, though there was some distinction between the sexes in terms of jobs. For example, only boys were taken on as game beaters. [34] Indeed, one boy remained absent from school in order that he attend to a pony for the manse visitors, while some boys took an afternoon off in December 1881 to go after foxhounds. [35]

Such reasons were very specific, but it is not always clear whether the cause of absence recorded as 'required at home' refers to housework, since in agricultural areas elder children especially were needed to work on the small family plots. Older pupils were frequently recorded as absent from Drumclog Public School in Strathaven, Lanarkshire, 'required for home work', which included field work. [36] Absence from school may not have precluded all study: for example, at this same school, two sisters were reported in December 1886 as returning to the first Standard

after an absence of four months, owing to diphtheria in the family, with the teacher's relieved comment that they had been learning at home and so were not as far behind as might have been expected. [37]

The Stirlingshire logs show that both older girls and boys were required for 'summer employment', but that it was more likely for the former to be needed 'at home', and for the latter to find work with local traders, running errands for shopkeepers, delivering goods, carrying golf clubs. Boys were more likely than girls to be recorded as absent from school, herding cattle, but both worked in the fields. However, more often girls helped at home, while the mothers worked on the farm. [38] While older children might be kept at home when mothers found employment, it was more common for girls to be expected to tackle household chores, especially on Fridays, and childcare. [39] Where there were no daughters, or none old enough, then the son would keep house while the mothers worked. Both girls and boys were kept from school if the fathers were on strike or locked out, and when the families 'flitted' (moved house), for example during a miners' strike at Hamilton in Lanarkshire in 1879 and 1880 when they were evicted from their houses and their families had to leave the district. [40] On the other hand, it was more usual for boys to be punished for truancy than girls, suggesting that the latter stayed away from school for predominantly family reasons, whereas boys were also perceived to absent themselves from school for non-family, and non-productive reasons. [41] When girls played truant for not attending sewing classes, their action was recorded more in terms of resistance to the lesson than a desire, or need, to be absent, and often blamed on the mothers. [42] The headmaster of Dalmellington Public School in Ayrshire complained that the sewing class in the week of 21 August 1874 had been badly attended, with the general excuse 'required at home'. A year later, he recorded: 'Sewing has been badly attended. Most of the girls from the country do not wait for it, and those absent belonging to the town are required at home.' [43]

Yet by the end of the century, the emphasis on domestic subjects for girls had increased, accounting for a considerable part of their week in school. Thus in Lanarkshire, sewing was taught four times a week at Bishopbriggs Public School, an hour each period; at Lochfauld School, sewing and knitting were taught four times each week, for 45 minutes each period; at Auchinloch Public School, girls spent four times 40 minutes each week learning sewing, knitting and darning; and at Steppes

Road Public School, girls were taught sewing, knitting and crochet for five days a week, each lesson lasting 45 minutes. [44] Occasionally, boys were instructed in knitting: for example, again in Lanarkshire, the HMI report for 1881 for Beckford Street School in Hamilton, noted with approval that the boys were taught knitting. [45] Still, boys did not spend as much time on such subjects as was expected of girls. Nor was either knitting or sewing considered an essential part of the boys' curriculum. Thus at Jackton Public School in Lanarkshire, the boys in the fourth and fifth Standards who were taught knitting had only two lessons in the week, which were discontinued when it was found to interfere with their progress in arithmetic. [46]

Occasionally, there were objections from Inspectors to the preference for knitting over sewing which was shown in some schools in Lanarkshire (as it had been shown in Dundee). Thus at Macdonald Public School, the HMI Report for November 1881 complained that the 'Industrial work consists too exclusively of knitting'. [47] Indeed, the Scotch Education Department (SED) threatened the East Kilbride School Board on 1875 with removal of the grant unless provision was made for instruction in needlework to the girls attending Auldhouse School. [48] At another Lanarkshire school, in 1884 the HMI complained:

> Notwithstanding the warning about needlework in my last report, it is still very defective. None of the girls in the first standard or under have received any instruction in it, while only seven in the third standard had sewing to show. The others of the third and all in the second standard have only been taught to knit. Pretty good specimens of needlework were shown by the girls in the three upper standards. [49]

This school seemed to have considerable difficulty in getting girls to attend sewing classes. [50] One Lanarkshire school taught sewing only on Saturdays, when the average attendance in 1877 and 1878 was only two or three girls. The situation seems to have changed in 1879 when a sewing mistress was appointed. [51]

Besides difficulties with the sewing classes, schools in Lanarkshire as well as Dunbartonshire and Ayrshire experienced considerable difficulty in introducing cookery, mainly due to the cost, both to the Board and the pupils. At the same time cookery classes seem to have been more widespread in these areas than in Dundee. A

common method of defraying, or attempting to defray the cost was by selling the cooked food. In addition, evening classes were offered to the general public, with the cookery teacher using a school's apparatus and paying running costs. In 1895, and again in 1896, the Ardrossan School Board recorded that their cookery teacher had managed to make a small profit from her efforts. [52]

While Board schools were mixed, evening classes were separated by sex, and boys were usually offered a wider curriculum. Thus at Kirkintilloch, the School Board asked the headmasters of their two schools what evening classes they intended to offer in the winter session of 1891: one proposed a class (unspecified) for girls; for boys there would be Chemistry, Bookkeeping, Physiography, Mathematics, and Shorthand, while the other master offered boys classes for Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Drawing, Bookkeeping and Latin. [53] When the chairman of this School Board died at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Minute Book recorded that he had taken:

> a keen interest in the Evening Schools more especially in the Drawing and Science classes, which afforded opportunities of great practical utility to many promising young men. He likewise actively supported the institution of Evening Classes for young women in which they could be taught Cookery, Dressmaking and other subjects tending to promote the comforts of their homes. [54]

In Stirlingshire, it was reported in the late 1890s that many girls had difficulty attending evening classes because their employment in shops and in domestic service meant that often they could not arrive in class before 8pm. [55] Still, it seems that at least a minority of working-class girls were more likely to have the opportunity to take higher subjects in this area than in the Dundee schools, while it appears that a girl had more chance of learning Latin if she were a pupil teacher. [56] However, it was also more likely that working-class and lower-middle-class girls would have access to education beyond the elementary stages, and beyond a gender specific curriculum, in Glasgow, though again they would be a minority.

3.3.i: The Education of Working-Class Girls in Glasgow's Board Schools

The Argyll Commission had reported in 1866 on serious deficiencies in the schooling of Glasgow's poor, including irregular attendance and inadequate buildings and teaching. The Assistant Commissioners who investigated Glasgow recommended a national system of non-denominational education based on the traditional parish schools. [57] A detailed study of the log books for Glasgow's schools reveals a gender inequality similar to that in Dundee and Renfrew, but which was mitigated by the headmasters' fervent belief in the national education tradition, and by their resistance to anglicisation. What is also revealed is that girls in Glasgow's Catholic schools, as indeed in Catholic schools elsewhere in Scotland, had fewer opportunities than those in Board schools.

As throughout industrial Scotland, the Board, or Public, schools in Glasgow were mixed-sex, though some standards, usually from the second or third, were divided into girls' and boys' sections. Organisation depended on the headmasters who were prepared to adapt to circumstances, so that some of the older girls and boys might be taught higher subjects together. Roman Catholic schools (which will be discussed in more detail below) generally tended to be divided into girls' and boys' schools, with the girls having a female head teacher, visited regularly by a male manager, usually a priest. [58] A few schools, however, such as St. Aloysius', Holycross and St. Michael's, seem to have been mixed, and to have had a female head. [59] It should be noted that although the Public Schools were mixed, they were built in such a way as to separate girls and boys everywhere except in the classroom - there were separate stairs, entrances and exits for the sexes. [60]

The Public Schools all seemed keen on teaching more than the elementary subjects and class subjects (of geography and history). They introduced Specific Subjects - such as mathematics, French, German, Latin, Greek, English language and literature, physical geography, animal physiology and physiology, mechanics, chemistry, botany - for both girls and boys. Specific Subjects were instituted by the first Scotch Code of 1873 and were taught until 1898, paid for by government grant. Generally, those who stayed on to the fifth, sixth and ex-sixth standards were offered at least two Specific Subjects, with girls taking domestic economy as one, and with few girls taking the traditionally male (because associated with university) subjects of

mathematics, Latin, Greek, science or physical geography.

There were occasional HMI complaints of girls being over-loaded with Specifics, which could indicate that some at least took more than two, and that the HMIs thought girls should stick to domestic economy. Yet, as discussed below, there was a tension in the attitudes of headmasters and HMIs towards such gender-specific subjects, especially sewing, which were seen to interfere with the more academic work of the school. The HMI report of 1899 for Napiershall Street Public School stated that the ex-sixth 'came safely through a very searching examination, though they profess mathematics, French, Latin and German, in addition to all the subjects that go to make up an ordinary English education'. [61] The boys took mathematics and Latin, the girls French and German. The Catholic schools, being poorer, generally did not offer Specific Subjects, either to boys or girls.

Of the Specifics, girls as well as boys took French, German, physiology and English literature, though at one school - Govan Cross Public School - boys studied the 'Lady of the Lake' while girls took domestic economy. Generally, boys took mathematics, though girls also studied this subject at the City Public School; boys took Latin, though girls also studied it at a few Board schools, such as Hillhead and Maryhill, with female pupil teachers taking Latin at Eastpark Public School. [62] In addition, when Garnethill Public School had a higher grade department, and later (in 1898) when it became a High School for Girls, girls were taught both Latin and Greek. Few boys in Board Schools were taught Greek, while Garnethill seems to have been the only school in Glasgow to offer it to girls. It should be noted that it became a High School for Girls to attract middle-class girls who would not have gone to a mixed-sex public school. [63]

Boys generally took physical geography, while girls took domestic economy, but a few schools offered the former to girls as well. [64] The same seems to have been the case with science. At an elementary level, it seems to have been taught to boys only, but in a few schools which either had a higher grade department or became Higher Grade Schools (usually around 1900), girls had the opportunity to take science. At Garnethill, in 1892, a few were mentioned as passing first class in science; and when the boys left, the headmaster retained science, trying to persuade the girls to take one or more science classes. He met with only limited success, however, due it seems to parental disapproval, but he remained confident of an

increase as girls looked more to medicine as a career. [65] Girls also took science at City Public School (in 1891), at Bellahouston Public School (1899) and at John Street Public School (1900). In the last, girls took a different science from boys - hygiene; but it was criticised by the HMI who thought that it needed a foundation in chemistry and physics. [66]

This emphasis on Specific Subjects seems to have been seen as in keeping with the Scottish tradition in education, and as distinct from the English elementary education. It was certainly reflected in the annual reports of the Board of Education for Scotland in the 1870s and of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland in the 1880s. Thus in 1876, it was noted that for Scotland as a whole, the number of scholars taking Specific Subjects was 37,148 (that is, 14.8 per cent of the average attendance at all public schools). This was an increase on the previous year, when the number of such scholars had been 26,151 (that is, 11.2 per cent of the average attendance at all public schools). These figures were broken down by subject and sex.

Table 3.3: Specific Subjects for Scotland as a Whole 1875-76

	MALE		FEMALE	
	1875	**1876**	**1875**	**1876**
Mathematics	3879	4372	413	423
English Language & Literature	7635	9432	5275	6779
Latin	7685	9284	1296	1769
Greek	494	591	36	27
French	2879	3371	2929	3959
German	228	204	163	230
Mechanics	98	151	9	22
Chemistry	159	301	165	163
Animal Physiology & Physics	2292	3275	1438	1866
Light & Heat	74	47	30	22
Magnetism & Electricity	487	777	262	509
Physical Geography	6283	9082	4325	6035
Botany	231	349	195	377
Domestic Economy	-	-	632	5873

Source: *Third Annual Report of the Board of Education for Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1876), Appendix X

Each year, the number of pupils taking Specific Subjects rose, but the gap between girls and boys remained, while boys were seen as more prominent in both the Classics and in science (except for botany), girls in modern languages. The only Specific

Subject which was gender-specific (i.e. open only to girls) was domestic economy. In Glasgow, both headmasters, in their frequent examinations of classes, and HMIs, in their annual reports, tended to compare the performances of girls and boys, as if measuring the sexes against each other, and perhaps expecting the same standards. Yet girls and boys were still seen as performing according to their 'natural' sexual characteristics. There were frequent comments that while girls seemed more expressive than boys in reading aloud, the former were more reticent in oral answering than boys. Occasionally, however, it was stated that boys performed better than girls generally because of extra time spent by girls on 'other' subjects - by implication sewing. [67]

Yet despite this implied criticism of the emphasis put on sewing in girls' education at the expense of academic subjects, the log books contain many complaints that girls did not take advantage of sewing. Indeed, it was claimed that sewing classes may have contributed to irregularity of attendance among girls, which indicates their, or their parents', resistance. There were complaints that the girls often could not, or did not, bring seams to sew, and calls for the Board to provide, which it did from around 1886. [68] Some schools would cut time spent on sewing in order to increase the time for other subjects in which the girls had fallen behind the boys, or to coach the girls intensively before the drawing examinations. [69]

HMIs were often critical of the girls' industrial work. They seemed to want to raise the level of the teaching of sewing, as if to make it more scholarly. Thus, for example, the HMI report for Keppochhill Public School in 1883 censured the failure of girls to show specimen seams, even though they had done the work. It seems that their sewing had been required at home as soon as it was finished, and that they would have to knit until they could bring a new seam. The HMI insisted that this was not good enough:

> The progress in this branch cannot be satisfactory if it is to depend upon the caprice of ignorant parents. The pupils should be classified in this as in other subjects, according to their proficiency, and the instruction carried on in a regularly graded system. [70]

The implication in these reports is that the instruction would always be by female

teachers, who it seems did not always come up to male standards. In one school - Rutland Crescent - it was reported that in 1890 the female staff were sent specimens of sewing from Germany, perhaps an effort by the Board to raise expectations. [71] Indeed, at another school - Keppochhil - the headmaster himself taught the first stage in domestic economy, in 1882 and 1883, apparently because he considered the standards of the female teachers too low. [72]

In some schools, girls in the higher standards were also expected to take cookery and laundry, but there was criticism if the demands were so heavy as to detract from their 'ordinary' work, for example in the HMI Report of 1896 for Dalmarnock Public School:

> The demands on the time of the girls for Cookery and Laundry work are heavy: and the practice of making up lessons in these subjects by dropping the ordinary work is not commendable. [73]

Boys seem to have taken manual instruction when girls took laundry, and at Dovehill Public School, both missed an hour of drawing as a result. [74] Both sexes were taught drawing; other common subjects were singing/music, and drill and swimming, from the 1890s, though these were taught at different times to girls and boys.

In terms of attendance, registers often give such brief reasons for a child leaving school that it is difficult to generalise much, but in a few cases at least, and very rarely for boys, it was stated that girls left to help at home. In the log books, it was occasionally noted that girls stayed at home, especially at certain periods, such as just before the new year, to help with the cleaning. Whereas both girls and boys in outlying districts would be kept from school at harvest time, either to pick potatoes or to stay at home while their mothers worked in the fields, it was more often the girls who did so. Still, at Barrowfield Public School, there were complaints in 1876 that boys were being kept at home 'to do work, or to go messages', and at St. Mungo's Roman Catholic Boys' School in 1867, it was noted that some boys were habitually absent on Fridays, to run messages or to mind younger siblings while the mother did the washing. [75] Despite frequent complaints about the absence of girls in the higher standards, often no reason was given. Boys were more often described as playing truant, implying that their absences were less productive and domestic than that of

girls, and less acceptable. Whereas the absence of girls was regretted, boys were more likely to be punished, or even expelled, for truancy.

Generally, in terms of behaviour, HMIs and headmasters complained of the unruly and uncouth manners of the lower class of children, girls as well as boys, and especially in the Catholic schools where the children tended to be poorer. There were some complaints of violence: of boys fighting, of Catholic boys attacking Public School boys, especially on St. Patrick's day, and occasionally of boys hurting girls. [76] There were very few references to female violence or disruptive behaviour, but at Springburn Public School, in May 1877, the headmaster related that five older girls seemed to have spread 'vile' stories about a male teacher, which had undermined his standing with the pupils. The girls eventually confessed to lying, and two left, but the teacher in question resigned, apparently after failing to recover his authority. [77]

In 1882, Fairfield Public School log book recorded instructions from the School Board to introduce for use in schools a manual entitled *Maxims in Morals and Manners for Boys and Girls at School*. [78] Two years before, the headmaster of Govan Cross Public School noted a letter from the School Board which pointed to the rudeness of the pupils in and out of school, and indeed especially in the streets, and suggested that occasional lessons in manners and morals should be given to girls and boys, perhaps separately in some, unspecified, instances. [79]

If a school had a considerable number of middle-class children, however, more was expected in terms of behaviour. Thus the headmaster of Crossmyloof Public School in 1879 thought it desirable that every encouragement should be given to his middle-class pupils by promoting their education in a few polite accomplishments, such as dancing and instrumental music. At the same time, he saw these children, who had come from private schools, as poorly educated, academically, compared to the usual Board School children. [80] At Garnethill Public School, which actively sought to attract middle-class girls, a Lady Superintendent was appointed around 1894, to oversee the morals, manners and behaviour of the girls, both in class and in the neighbourhood. [81] Thus, girls' education was subject to the pressures of social class as well as of gender.

Nevertheless, what the Glasgow log books show, much more so than for Dundee or Renfrewshire, is that the emphasis was on academic subjects, for girls as well as for boys. Headmasters particularly resented sacrificing academic for industrial

work for girls, while parents resented both the cost of the latter and the implied criticism of the home conditions. [82] The Glasgow log books also reflect a widespread belief among headmasters that education was held in higher esteem in Scotland than in England. [83] The headmasters all sought to offer as wide a variety of Specific Subjects as possible in the apparent belief that in doing so they were preserving the parochial school tradition. From the beginning, Specific Subjects were open to girls; so too were bursaries. Yet despite the opportunities, few boys and fewer girls of the working classes in Glasgow were able to continue their education to secondary level. By the 1880s, moreover, it was clear that to be taught efficiently, these subjects would have to be limited to a few schools.

Still, through its support for Specific Subjects, the Glasgow School Board tried to encourage secondary education - though like 'elementary', 'secondary' was not a term used in Scotland; in its place was Higher Department, and later High School. From the early 1880s, the Board considered establishing a High School for girls, to provide them with the same opportunities as boys. [84] Such schools, however, attracted lower-middle class, rather than working-class girls. The working class could not afford to keep its children, especially its daughters, at school longer than was necessary. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Glasgow's economy was dominated by heavy industry and ship-building. Jobs for working-class women declined, not only in textiles, but also in domestic service. Perhaps the socio-economic composition of the city - predominantly working class, with a high proportion of skilled male workers - helps explain the emphasis in the Board Schools on industrial work (sewing for girls, manual instruction for boys). Nevertheless, the Scottish tradition of a wider curriculum was retained, indeed was consciously promoted, for girls as well as boys.

3.3.ii: Catholic Working-Class Girls' Education in Glasgow

Until the late eighteenth century, the majority of Scottish Catholics lived in the Highlands and Islands. According to Sister Martha Skinnider, in 1779 there were only 30 Catholics in Glasgow, without either priest or chapel. [85] The increase in the city's Catholic population dated from the 1790s, with the coincidence of Highland clearances and Glasgow's industrial expansion, but especially from the early

nineteenth century, with Irish immigration. Clelland's census of the city in 1831 recorded 35,554 Irish in Glasgow, most of whom were Catholic. [86]

There were tensions within this emerging Catholic community. Michael Lynch points out that Scottish Catholic priests were very apprehensive when faced with the challenge of absorbing a mass of Irish Catholics who often did not attend church. A conservative body, the Scots clergy feared the influence of radical Irish politics. At the same time, the Protestant Irish immigrants had imported Orangeism to Glasgow and the south-west of Scotland by the 1830s, so that there was also tension between the two sets of Irish immigrants. Tom Gallagher notes that there was a crisis of identity, or at least a feeling of rootlessness, among the Irish Catholics, who did not feel either British or Scottish. [87] In a real sense, they were denied access to that concentric loyalty claimed by most Scots. Confused over their own identity, the Scots were unwilling to accept the Catholic Irish as full members of the Scottish nation. Gallagher argues that the Catholics as a consequence developed a strong sense of identity from their religious faith. He posits a path of 'separate development' for the Irish Catholics because of the sharp economic, religious and ethnic gulf which placed them outside the mainstream Scottish community. [88]

This separation was reflected in the schooling of Catholic children in Glasgow. Yet when a Catholic Schools Society was established in Glasgow in 1817, it had some Protestant support. As the numbers grew, so did the Church's educational activity. In 1847, the Catholic Poor Schools Committee was set up by the bishops in England and Wales, and later joined by the Scots, with the purpose of negotiating with the Government for a share in the grants. [89] It is clear from this committee's reports, and from others, that the Catholic schools in Glasgow faced massive problems because of the poverty of parishioners. In 1878, it was estimated that the number of schoolchildren in Glasgow Archdiocese was considerably over 33,000, but government returns showed accommodation for only 24,618. [90] The Catholic schools in Glasgow were plagued by irregular attendance and lack of punctuality; the standard of teaching was lower and there was a heavier reliance on pupil teachers than in the Board schools. Moreover, the failures of Catholic pupil teachers at scholarship examinations were numerous, while none achieved high places. The Catholic Schools Committee reported in 1889 that:

> This is not to be wondered at when we consider that our Catholic candidates are kept hard at work all day in school (in some cases till six in the evening), having, as a rule, no more than one hour of instruction five times a week, from a teacher worn out with her hard day's work. The Board candidates, on the other hand, are allowed to leave their schools to attend afternoon classes taught by first-rate masters - men who have taken university degrees, and who devote themselves to special subjects - and by mistresses engaged for tuition at the 'Centres', who come fresh to their work, and have no school duties to absorb their time and strength. The same tutors and governesses succeed each other throughout the day on Saturdays; while every facility that money can procure in the shape of books and apparatus is at the command of their fortunate pupils. Until something of the kind is done for Catholics they can never meet their competitors on equal grounds. [91]

Indeed, a training college for Catholic teachers was not established in Scotland until 1894, at Dowanhill, Glasgow. The College of Notre Dame was, moreover, for the training of schoolmistresses, revealing the far greater dependence on female teachers in Catholic than in Board schools. Bernard Aspinwall argues convincingly that women teachers played an important role, along with nuns and mothers, in building and maintaining Catholic communities. During teacher-training, usually at Mount Pleasant in Liverpool before 1895, these young women were told that they stood 'between the priests and the parents and like them derive authority from Almighty God'. [92] Given the difficulty of attracting males to school-teaching, and the separate sex education in Catholic schools, it is difficult to disagree with Sister Martha Skinnider's conclusion that Catholic girls seemed to have had a better education than Catholic boys, at least until the mid nineteenth century when the Marist Brothers arrived in Glasgow (1856) and took charge of boys' education. [93] Thereafter, girls lost that early advantage, though the pupil-teacher system, dominated by girls in Catholic schools even more than in Board Schools, and the opening of Notre Dame teacher training college at the end of the century provided opportunities for a Catholic lass of parts.

In view of the widespread poverty among the Catholic population in Glasgow, it should not be surprising that the emphasis was on elementary education, for boys as

well as for girls. Besides the irregularity of attendance, log books for Glasgow Catholic schools reveal that few, girls or boys, stayed on into the senior standards. Indeed, this was a recurring complaint, into the early twentieth century. Thus at St. Mary's Girls' School, it was lamented in 1889 that a number of girls left to go to work, either having reached the age of 14, or because of gaining an exemption. [94] Moreover, there were now complaints that so many 'old' children were being admitted to school for the first time: girls between the ages of nine and ten, who had not gone through the infant school, and were regarded as almost unteachable, a drag on the others. This was also the case in Catholic boys' schools. [95] In addition, the logs show a higher teacher-pupil ratio and great reliance on pupil-teachers, mainly female, than in the Board schools.

Not all Catholic schools in Glasgow were single sex, although that seemed the preferred option. Indeed, the practice seemed to be to have mixed infant schools, and then send the boys to a separate school, or at least to teach them separately from the girls in the same school. [96] Yet there were exceptions in Glasgow; for example at Holycross School in January 1900, it was regretted that want of accommodation made it impossible to teach drawing to girls and boys together. [97] In the mixed as in the single sex schools, there were frequent complaints of serious attendance problems, but no differentiation was made between girls and boys. Incentives were offered to improve attendance, such as a tea party, an outing to the countryside, a lantern entertainment, badges or sweets. [98]

As in the Board schools, there were HMI reports about the need to give more attention to needlework. [99] It seemed to be more difficult to teach domestic economy in Catholic schools, because of the cost, lack of accommodation, and heavy pressures on the headmistresses. Thus in St. Aloysius' School, cookery classes only began at the end of November 1888, after the Reverend Manager had had a stove installed in a cupboard, while the Reverend Manager of Holycross School had to give the headmistress permission to give domestic economy lessons during the time allotted to composition on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and physical geography on Tuesdays and Thursdays. [100]

Yet the log books for Glasgow's Catholic schools seem to show a more positive approach to the introduction of domestic economy for girls, especially in the evening schools. [101] One explanation might be that it was the only Specific Subject

open to girls in Catholic schools. When Specific Subjects were introduced, they appear to have been mainly reserved for boys, as with the introduction of French and physical geography into St. Andrew's Boys' School in April 1877, and of mathematics into St. Margaret's Boys' School in January 1897. [102]

Tom Gallagher argues that the Scottish emphasis on 'the democratic intellect' was not open to the Irish Catholics, unless they were prepared to give up their ethnic identity. [103] Certainly, before the Scottish Education Act of 1872, the Catholic Church generally lacked resources to provide comparable educational opportunities to those offered by Protestant schools. The 1872 Act put many new burdens on the Catholic schools, which did not receive any financial benefits from the public system until the 1918 Education Act. Hence, even the brightest of working-class boys could not aspire to becoming a lad of parts, because of the poverty of educational facilities until well into the twentieth century.

As for girls, the headmistress of St. John's School noted in the log book for 30 April 1899: 'It is impossible to advance the standard work of the school owing to the great irregularity of the children'. [104] Such irregularity was associated in the log books with the poverty as well as the ignorance of the parents. Economics, rather than resistance to the Presbyterian 'democratic intellect', kept the Irish Catholics of Glasgow outside of the Scottish educational tradition. Yet the impression from the Catholic schools' log books, as well as from the Reports of the Catholic Schools Committee, is of efforts by both clergy and teachers to raise the standards of education, for girls as well as for boys. Thus in St. Aloysius' School by the end of the nineteenth century, girls as well as boys were encouraged to try for the Merit Certificate, and to enter university examinations. [105] The numbers receiving a secondary education remained tiny, however, for boys as well as for girls.
Yet while poverty can be seen as the major obstacle to improving Catholic education in Glasgow, as indeed in Scotland as a whole, the HMI reports highlighted the lack of a serious intellectual education for teachers in Catholic schools. Any improvement, it seems, came in the junior classes. As an HMI reported in 1891:

> The work done in the [Catholic] schools shows creditable progression in recent years and is often very good, especially in the junior classes. But, speaking generally, there is a point beyond which the work, especially of the

> senior classes, will not rise, a point considerably lower than that attained in the Board schools. This holds true after making all allowances for the poor class of children in R.C. schools. It is a deficiency which no industry of teachers, no skill of the managers, no stimulus of inspection can remedy, for it arises solely from the intellectual defects of a staff who have not received a regular and thorough training. By this I mean, not merely a training in the method of teaching, but a training in intellectual study. The good teacher must first of all be the good student. [106]

The HMI recommended the establishment of a Catholic training college in Glasgow, which was done in 1894 (to open in 1895). It was restricted to the training of schoolmistresses, so that, ironically, Catholic girls in Glasgow had a better chance of educational improvement than boys. Yet still, the girls' education was narrower than that of boys, while as teachers, Catholic women were paid less than female as well as male Board teachers, and than Catholic male teachers.

3.4: Conclusion

Some who write about Scottish girls' education, see little difference between the Scottish and English experiences. [107] Yet the evidence from these case studies of industrial Scotland, and especially of the Glasgow schools, shows a more complex situation, with resistance to domestic education for girls, at least in the Board schools, not because of any disagreement with the domestic ideal, but because it undermined the traditional stress on academic learning.

As the log books of both Board and Catholic schools reveal, fear of Catholicism was integral to the popular culture of Scotland, while it encouraged a separate identity among Catholics. In Glasgow, this religious intolerance was reinforced by the strength of the Ulster Protestant community in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, while the Scots sought to retain a sense of nationhood against the anglicising tendencies of the British state, notably in their education system, the Irish Catholics stayed aloof. Yet the log books of Glasgow's Catholic schools, and the reports of the Archdiocese religious inspections, leave no doubt that the Catholic Church in Glasgow sought to inculcate a desire for education in its flock.

Given the generally negative image of Catholics in the Scottish press - ignorant, drunken, superstitious, improvident - perhaps the church educationalists were trying to undermine the stereotype. [108]

It may be, too, that both clergy and teachers were influenced by the Scottish democratic tradition in education, since the Church's strength lay in its identification with the poor. As the Catholic poor developed its own labour hierarchy, its skilled workers and lower middle class wanted to benefit from the meritocratic tradition in Scottish education. The fact remains that in the late nineteenth century, only a tiny minority could do so. Indeed, with the one Catholic teacher training institution established as late as 1894 and for girls only, Catholic school teaching was confirmed as a female-dominated profession, far removed from the Scottish tradition of the male university graduate dominies. Even in the 1890s, there was a high proportion of untrained, mostly female teachers in Catholic schools, with a heavy reliance on pupil teachers, and with many fewer boys than girls completing their apprenticeships. [109] Given the poverty of most Catholics in Scotland and the low educational level of the teachers, the efforts of the Catholic schools to reach the standards of the Board schools had little chance of success, at least before the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act.

Indeed, such efforts were further hampered in Glasgow in the late nineteenth century by the School Board's attempts to develop secondary education both through the Specific Subjects offered in Board schools, and through promoting higher class, or higher grade schools, as well as by raising the standards of Board pupil teachers. The Board and the headmasters were determined not just to preserve a national tradition in education, but to develop it, and to resist the encroachment of English practices and ideas.

The Glasgow Board schools' log books reveal how seriously the headmasters viewed the national tradition in education, how proud and anxious they were to preserve it. That tradition has been subjected to much revision in the last twenty years. The revision does not deny the tradition validity. Rather, it sees the democratic myth as an idealisation of what by the nineteenth century was a very complex reality. However simplified or distorted, the democratic myth played a vital part in the assertion of national identity. Paterson and Fewell argue that gender inequality is a fundamental but ignored aspect of that ideal, and is woven into the fabric of national

identity. [110] The Glasgow log books uphold that judgement; but they also show that, whatever the intentions of the educators, working-class girls after 1872 had a range of educational opportunities in the Glasgow Board schools greater than in most of England. [111] It was also greater than in the Catholic schools of Glasgow, and than in most other parts of Scotland. Glasgow's non-Catholic, working-class girls did not have equal opportunities with non-Catholic, working-class boys. Nevertheless, the democratic tradition as well as resistance to anglicising tendencies worked in their favour.

It is clear that Scottish education was influenced by, indeed had to respond to, English practices, and that the concerns of the later nineteenth century - the Victorian emphasis on domesticity, the eugenicist fears for the health of the future population - helped shape the educational experience of working-class children, especially girls. Yet these case studes of industrial Scotland reveal the importance of the local economy. Both the textile regions of Dundee and Renfrewshire absorbed the majority of female workers, ensuring that girls' education was elementary and episodic. Yet even within the textile economy, there were differences. In Dundee, girls were drawn into the factories from an early age. There was severe competition for jobs in a city which experienced considerable immigration from the surrounding countryside as well as from the Highlands and Ireland. Dundee's population grew from 91,664 in 1861, to 119,141 in 1871. In that situation, a certificate of exemption from school was sought after, while half-time education was welcomed by the employers in an industry in which profit margins were small. By the 1890s, HMIs singled out Dundee as the only city in which the half-time system was a drag on education. [112]

In Paisley, however, much of the textile work could be done outside of the factory, with shawl finishing, especially fingering, done by women in the home. Moreover, Paisley was close enough to Glasgow to be influenced by the educational practices of the biggest School Board in Scotland. Paisley, too, had a very lively School Board. [113] In contrast, the Dundee School Board responded to the needs of the local millowners, and to the pressure of working-class poverty. Yet even the report on 'Education in Dundee and District' in *The Dundee Advertiser*, previously referred to, which claimed that half-time education was beneficial, especially for girls, admitted that the standard of comparison was a very low one: from the lower to the higher standards, and particularly in the latter, 'boys have the adantage of girls in the matter

of attendance'. [114]

In neither Dundee or Paisley is a lad, let alone a lass, of parts glimpsed, except very infrequently and then usually with regret that they cannot continue their education because of the necessity of finding paid employment. There were few opportunities at school for working-class children of either sex in industrial Scotland. At the same time, even the elementary education common to both boys and girls was in practice limited, and in effect undermined for the latter by the stress on domestic subjects, above all on sewing. Education was indeed gendered. Yet given the widespread employment of girls and women, and given their prominence in the textile industry in both Paisley and Dundee, and their predominance in the latter's labour force, the Victorian concept of femininity is difficult to identify, except in the efforts of teachers to 'civilise' their uncouth charges. Moreover, the stress on sewing might be linked as much to the needs of the local economy and to the conditions of school grants, as to any ideal of domesticity.

The experience of Catholic and Protestant girls in the textile areas was very similar, despite the separate schools. At the same time, the headteachers in the Board Schools were more conscious of striving to follow the national tradition in education which implicitly excluded Catholics. Yet while Catholic schools in industrial Scotland operated against overwhelming odds in terms of the poverty of their pupils, they too were determined to provide at least a basic education to both girls and boys, and to inculcate domestic skills in the former, in order perhaps, as suggested above, to undermine the caricature of the uncouth, profligate and intemperate Catholic.

The Protestant ethic was seen in the values Protestant women attached to their domestic skills, and in their criticism of Catholic women as both less skilled and less moral. [115] Hence the emphasis on domestic subjects and on good manners in Catholic schools as teachers and priests tried to raise the standards of female behaviour. They seemed to feel that they were fighting a losing battle, because of the generalised poverty and because parents, notably mothers, would not passively submit to the demands of clergy and teachers. When a mother argued with the headmaster of St. Lawrence's School in Greenock, he promised to investigate her complaint about the treatment of her daughter, but in the log book confided that 'women in general are not reasoners'. [116] The impression is that Catholic teachers often felt that they were up against not only the prejudice of the Protestant majority, but also the ignorance of

Catholic parents, especially of mothers.

There was indeed an implicit fear in the log books and inspectors' reports that the low level of female education would continue into the next generation, because of the mothers' ignorance. As the nuns told the Argyll Commissioners for Glasgow, 'the girls who attended school were much better behaved than those who did not, and made much better wives'. [117] Hence the need for improvements in the education of Catholic working-class girls, not only for themselves but also for the good of their families, and indeed of the Catholic community and its standing within the national community.

Chapter 4

Scotland is not Glasgow: The Schooling of Working-Class Girls Outwith the Industrial Central Belt, 1872-1900

4.1: Introduction

The previous chapter has shown that the experience of the education system in the central belt of Scotland in the nineteenth century differed for the sexes - in curriculum, attendance and expectations. Two related major influences on the schooling of the working class in this area were industrialisation and urbanisation. By 1900, Scotland had 'four principal sub-economies or city regions, and four distinctive modes of urban life'. [1] The population of these cities in 1901 was as follows:

Table 4.1: Urban Population, 1901

Aberdeen	154,000
Dundee	161,000
Edinburgh	413,008
Glasgow	761,000

Source: O. and S. Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832-1914* (Edinburgh, 2nd ed., 1989), pp.34, 41, 43, 46.

As the Victorian period had progressed, the demography of Scotland had been transformed. By 1901, the great majority (43.92 per cent, or 1,976,640) of Scotland's 4.5 million people lived in towns in the western Lowlands, centred on Glasgow. This growth was at the expense of the Highlands and Islands, the northern Lowlands, and the Borders. Certainly, there was also migration to the eastern Lowlands, a region which grew from a total population (including Edinburgh) of 785,814 in 1831 to 1,400,675 in 1901. Yet that growth represented a decreasing share of Scotland's total population: from 33.2 to 31.3 per cent. [2]

This demographic transformation reflected the very regional nature of the Scottish economy, which influenced the experience of schooling for both girls and

boys in different ways, which in turn reflected local employment opportunities. Thus, as we have seen, in textile towns such as Dundee, where most child and youth employment was for girls, boys were more likely to stay on at school, whereas in big cities (such as Glasgow) and areas of heavy industry and mining (such as Lanarkshire) it was girls. John Butt has shown how these varied urban economic structures influenced female employment (and, it could be added, education) in the four main cities.

Table 4.2: Occupied and Unoccupied Population, 1901

City	Total Male	Total Female	Male Occupied	%Total	Female Occupied	%Total
Aberdeen	52,822	64,634	43,381	82.13	21,836	33.78
Dundee	53,677	72,723	46,504	86.13	37,567	51.66
Edinburgh	113,982	142,231	93,595	82.11	53,658	37.73
Glasgow	288,039	303,143	250,441	86.95	111,472	36.77

Source: J. Butt, 'The Changing Character of Urban Employment 1901-1981' in G. Gordon (ed.), *Perspectives of the Scottish City* (Aberdeen, 1985), p.213.

Table 4.3: Major Categories of Female Employment, 1901

Category	Glasgow	%	Edinburgh	%	Aberdeen	%	Dundee	%
Domestics	24,094	21.61	22,823	42.43	5,597	25.63	3,007	8.00
Paper etc	6,579	5.90	4,484	8.36	1,742	7.98	295	0.79
Textiles etc	42,178	37.84	9,017	16.83	6,898	31.59	29,719	79.11
Food, tobacco etc	13,397	12.02	4,731	8.83	3,359	15.38	1,952	5.20
Professional & Services	5,745	5.15	4,170	7.77	1,507	6.90	1,048	2.79
Transport	3,275	2.94	732	1.36	394	1.79	207	0.55

Source: J. Butt, 'The Changing Character of Urban Employment 1901-1981' in G. Gordon (ed.), *Perspectives of the Scottish City* (Aberdeen, 1985), p.215.

The percentage of female employment in Dundee was exceptionally high, but as the above tables reveal, while Aberdeen had the lowest percentage for the four cities, its pattern of female employment was more diverse, though not more

skilled. In addition, as Butt points out, when these six categories are grouped into two, the service sector and manufacturing, Aberdeen had the most balanced picture, with 49.7 in the former, and 39.57 in the latter. [3]

This chapter will firstly consider the two major cities, Aberdeen and Edinburgh, where manufacturing industry and immigration did not have such a significant impact, and where the service sector was a key employer of women. As noted in the first two chapters, the 1872 (Scotland) Education Act stemmed partly from the nineteenth-century preoccupation with the state of education. The focus of that concern was the industrial city. However, as the following discussion will show, in cities such as Aberdeen and Edinburgh the local economy put different pressures and limitations on the schooling of working-class girls, and indeed of boys, while rural schools were also under pressure, and continued to be so after 1872. Thus, secondly, there will be an examination of the agricultural areas from the southern uplands to the Highlands, with particular attention paid to Perthshire. Here, the heavy seasonal demand for child labour, female as well as male, established a pattern of a brief period of full-time schooling, followed by several years of winter attendance, suggesting a basic equality of educational experience between the sexes, though as will be seen, older boys were more likely to return to school than girls.

4.2: The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Aberdeen and Edinburgh

The *Aberdeen Journal* recorded a complaint in 1867 that the Argyll Commission had based its conclusion, that Scotland was much further behind in education than people assumed, too much on the position in Glasgow which was taken as a reflection of the general situation in big Scottish towns. [4] The *Journal* argued that deficiencies in the parochial system were not nationwide, but pertained to large manufacturing cities and towns which had experienced a great increase in population, and also to Highland parishes which covered huge tracts of land. For the *Journal*, 'the glory of the parochial system consists in the provision it makes for leading the poorest man's son to the gates of university'. [5] What of the lad of parts' sister? The *Journal* was certainly in favour of educating her:

> Just consider what an extraordinary capacity for good influence a girl may have when she grows up, and consider what a terrible capacity for evil if her powers are misdirected. [6]

In his study of education in Aberdeenshire before 1872, Ian Simpson noted that the county was less affected by industrialisation than counties such as Lanarkshire, but nevertheless the parochial system experienced some strain. [7] Aberdeenshire's parish schools were cushioned by the Dick and Milne bequests, which together helped raise the standard of living of the county's schoolmasters above the Scottish norm. Both bequests came into operation in the first half of the nineteenth century, Dick from 1833, and Milne from 1846. The former was intended 'to elevate the literary character of the parochial schoolmasters and schools', and whereas the latter's main aim was to extend opportunities for a good elementary education, it also encouraged the teaching of higher subjects, such as Latin, Greek, French and mathematics. Indeed, from 1864, anyone applying to Milne for a grant had to say whether he had had a university education and to produce certificates of his attainments in classics and mathematics. Thus, as Simpson pointed out, the Dick and Milne bequests made it virtually impossible for a non-graduate to be appointed to Aberdeenshire parish schools. [8] That effectively excluded women.

Simpson also noted that, until the middle of the nineteenth century, the literary education of girls was not deemed to be particularly important. Fewer girls than boys in Aberdeenshire went to school, and more girls than boys were taught outside the parochial system, in adventure schools. As late as 1837, the parish schools numbered far more boys than girls, and many of the latter 'picked up what education they could at home'. [9] However, by the mid nineteenth century, with development in the economy, parents began to see benefits, in terms of job opportunities, to be gained from educating their daughters. Moreover, the 1861 Education Act encouraged both the building of girls' schools in Aberdeenshire, and the employment of female assistants in mixed schools. [10]

Compared to other Scottish cities, Aberdeen's economy was highly diversified in the nineteenth century. In contrast to Glasgow and Dundee, Aberdeen's growth, especially in the 1880s and 1890s, owed little to Highland or

Irish immigration. It attracted workers from the north-east, rural Aberdeenshire, Kincardinshire, Banffshire and Moray. [11] In 1851 Aberdeen's population had been 72,000; 50 years later, it had risen to 153,503. [12] While Aberdeen had been a leading manufacturing centre until the mid-century depression, its growth in the second half of the nineteenth century rested on fishing, farming, paper-making and granite. From these, it developed a diverse manufacturing and commercial base, with the service sector employing almost half the labour force by the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, by 1911, domestic service, which was the biggest employer of women, came second only to the fishing industry in numbers of employed in Aberdeen. [13] Thus, the city's economy differed considerably from Glasgow, Dundee and, though to a lesser degree, Edinburgh. Aberdeen's local resources of fish and granite meant that manufacturing industries were less important than in either Glasgow or Dundee, while the importance of the service sector (the professions, trade and commerce, transport, domestic service) made Aberdeen more like Edinburgh.

In Edinburgh, women had little chance of jobs in textile factories, while men had very little opportunity to work in heavy industry, though the nearby port of Leith offered jobs in shipping, storing and transporting. Compared to Glasgow, there was a high proportion of business people and professionals in Edinburgh, which affected the labour market, providing large numbers of places in service, especially for women. The Edinburgh School Board Minutes for June 1877 give some idea of the variety of jobs, besides domestic service, open to girls with a basic education: messengers, shop assistants, dressmakers, book-folders, relief stampers, pupil teachers, compositors. [14] Over the next decade and a half, openings increased. In the session of 1893-94, 1640 young men and 830 young women attended Edinburgh's evening classes, with jobs for the latter including: bookbinders (3), bookfolders (4), booksewers (2), boxmaker (1), clerks (55), compositors (18), dairy girls (2), dental instrument maker (1), domestic servants (15), dressmaker (1), envelope folder (1), factory worker (2), fancy needleworkers (2), glass worker (1), housekeeper (1), leather dresser (1), machinists (9), mantle maker (1), message girls (74), milliners (20), monitors (3), newsvendor (1), nurses (3), photographers (2), printers (2), printers' readers (4), pupil-teacher (1), shirtmakers (3), shop assistants (48), tailoresses (4), teachers (2), telephone

operator (1), upholstress (1), warehouse girls (32), weavers (2), 'at home and unemployed' (413). [15] The final category was by far the largest, so that attendance at evening classes might have been seen as a way of improving the chances of finding work, and for those in employment of improving their position. Siân Reynalds has reported that, by the turn of the century, one employer was of the opinion that Board school girls in Edinburgh were better at reading and spelling than the boys, so that finding employment as a compositor may have been one way in which a girl in the capital could emulate the lad of parts and improve herself through education. [16]

As pointed out in chapter one, Tom Begg argued in his study of the Edinburgh School of Cookery (established in 1875) that a school of cookery seemed particularly appropriate to a city in which the dominant source of jobs for working-class girls throughout the nineteenth century was in domestic service. [17] However, the School from the beginning found it hard to attract working-class women. As noted above, Edinburgh's economic base lay in the professions, and in the retail and service sectors, while socially it had a large and flourishing middle class. Hence there was considerable demand for domestic servants, and hence the aim of the Cookery School's founders to train the daughters of the working class. Two key figures, Christian Guthrie Wright and Louisa Stevenson, campaigned to persuade the Edinburgh School Board to introduce cookery into the girls' curriculum. The Board, however, was slow to respond, partly because of the cost involved, and partly over the issue of time. Flora Stevenson, Louisa's sister and a member of the Edinburgh School Board from 1872 until her death in 1905, pointed out that female pupils already spent up to five hours a week on sewing; if cookery was added, they would have little time left for academic work, let alone the basics of literacy and numeracy. Flora subsequently supported domestic science for girls in Board Schools, presumably persuaded by Wright's argument that cookery would be more useful to most girls than many of the subjects currently studied. Yet, while domestic service remained the most significant occupational group for women in Edinburgh, even there, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the most common sector of female employment was industrial work. [18]

The previous chapter revealed resistance by parents and teachers in the industrial central belt, notably in Glasgow, to the emphasis on sewing in girls' education. The following discussion will show a similar attitude even in cities such as Aberdeen and Edinburgh where domestic service was a major employer of women, and where it might have been assumed to have been welcomed. Why was this so? HMIs and the educational authorities seemed to believe that it was an essential part of working-class girls' schooling because it was a feminine attribute, by virtue of being a domestic skill, but one which mothers could not be trusted to pass on to their daughters, even in Aberdeen, the city which had the lowest proportion of married women at work. There was a similar assumption of the ignorance of working-class mothers in Edinburgh. Still, Elizabeth Sanderson's study of women and work in eighteenth-century Edinburgh highlighted that sewing had certainly also been a trade with specialisms, such as millinery, mantua-making (overtaken by dress-making in the nineteenth century), lace-making (not particularly widespread in Scotland), tambouring (embroidery), and button-making. [19] However, commercial development in the nineteenth century, particularly the growth of retail establishments, made it more difficult for women to set up a business, since they had less access to finance than men. In practice, although sewing was deemed an 'industrial' subject for girls, the emphasis in schools was on training for the home, rather than employment in service. In the nineteenth century, sewing was not seen as a preparation for a trade, but a foundation for domesticity.

Despite this ideological pressure for a gendered curriculum, parish schools throughout Lowland Scotland, as discussed in chapter one, emphasised book-learning, for girls as well as, if not to the same extent as, boys. Hence, at the time of the Revised Code (1861), there was resentment in Scottish schools at how much emphasis was to be put on it. In March 1864, a school manager wrote to *The Scotsman* agreeing that sewing was important and had been neglected, but insisting that it was a subsidiary branch of education. He resented the condition that unless it was taught to girls as part of the ordinary course of instruction, the grant would be withheld, and he expressed concerns that this would harm schools in remote and poor areas, presumably either because a sewing mistress would have to be hired, or the schoolmistress would have to divert her attention from the

more academic subjects. [20] Moreover, Flora Stevenson accepted that sewing should be taught to girls, but argued that:

> The total of work recommended [by the Scotch Code of 1877, Art.17F, Schedule iii on the instruction in needlework] is too much to be looked for in an ordinary elementary school, if girls are expected to pass their standards, under Art.28 of the code, at the same age as boys; and more especially the amount of work expected from children under seven years of age is beyond the capacity of the average infant girls attending an elementary school. [21]

Flora Stevenson clearly had her doubts about the focus on the domestic in girls' elementary schooling. She qualified her support for introducing domestic subjects for girls in Board schools with an observation that boys too were deficient in household management. [22] However, most other female members of the School Board in Edinburgh (as well as in Glasgow, though not in Aberdeen, where none was elected), championed it. Thus, Miss Burton, who stood successfully for the Edinburgh Board in 1885, argued in her campaign that less 'head' and more 'hand' work should be taught to the poor, and that it would be better if, instead of the daughters of working people learning the complications of grammar, they were instructed in domestic duties. [23] Although Flora Stevenson reflected, on being unanimously elected to chair the Edinburgh Board in 1900, that this showed there was no work in connection with the administration of the schools which could not be fittingly done by a woman, she was in practice unique. [24] The argument in favour of female members, noted in the previous chapter in connection to elections to the Dundee Board and reiterated by *The Scotsman* two years before Stevenson became chairman of the Edinburgh Board, was that since half the pupils and so many of the teachers (the majority by 1900) were female, 'there were so many departments connected with education to which gentlemen did not naturally direct their attention that the principle of female representation was undoubted'. [25]

In 1898, there was a conference of the larger Scottish School Boards held in Edinburgh, at which only the Edinburgh Board had a female representative

(Flora Stevenson). Concern was expressed that the girls and boys who returned to Edinburgh's evening classes after one year's absence as a rule had to revise all the work of the fifth standard. It seemed that fewer children were staying on to the later standards, and that a large number did not reach the fifth. Of all the Boards, Edinburgh was exceptionally affluent in bursaries to encourage children to stay on at school, but there were few takers. For Flora Stevenson, this was bad for both girls and boys:

> Apart from the very serious consequences to the Nation of turning out of our schools year after year, boys and girls with faculties unused or insufficiently developed, to grow into our working men and women, to become the citizens of another age, their intelligence dwarfed and their brain uncultivated, ought we not to consider how fearfully the tendencies towards moral evil are increased? Boys and girls leaving school at 11 and 12 years of age seldom get suitable employment, and the evil they learn in the streets and closes is one of the main causes why the depravity of young people in Edinburgh is so deplorably on the increase. [26]

The implication was that such a concern was not restricted to Edinburgh, but was a national issue. Certainly, it was also identified as a problem by the Glasgow School Board, whereas in contrast the Dundee Board not only tolerated, but sought to justify part-time education, which affected girls in particular, due to the demands of the regional economy. Attention now turns to Aberdeen, which, as pointed out above, had the most balanced economic development of the four main cities, and the lowest number of married women in paid employment. How was girls' education under the Aberdeen School Board influenced by the north-eastern economic context? In general, at least until the later nineteenth century, more boys than girls stayed on to the fifth and sixth standards, reflected in the following table:

Table 4.4: Numbers of Scholars Present for the Annual Inspection of Causewayend School, 1886

Standard	Boys	Girls
1	6	7
2	80	70
3	68	70
4	62	74
5	53	47
6	25	12
TOTAL	294	280

Source: Aberdeen City Archives GR6S/A15/1/1 Causewayend Public School Log entry 20.10.1886.

Nevertheless, by the end of the century, the situation of some girls at least had improved. When Central Public School was opened in 1894 to scholars who had passed the sixth standard, more girls than boys attended: in March 1894, there were 111 girls, but 70 boys; four years later, there were 302 girls, but 125 boys. [27] By the end of the century, girls in Aberdeen public schools were encouraged to further their education by competing for scholarships and bursaries. [28] Girls whose family circumstances allowed them to stay on at school were given the opportunity to take higher subjects. For example, at Kirkhall School in March 1893, six girls and three boys began German, 15 boys began agriculture, and four boys and two girls began mathematics. [29] At Ashley Road Public School, at the end of the nineteenth century, it was decided that the girls in the fifth standard were to be taught French by a lecturer from Aberdeen University. [30] However, in Aberdeen, as in Edinburgh and Dundee, this applied to a small minority of girls. Still, as noted in chapter one, there may well have been more opportunities for a university education in Aberdeen because of the relatively low cost of attendance and the greater availability of financial help compared to the three other major cities, as well as the local belief by the later Victorian period that capable working-class girls should have the chance of further study.

At that 1898 conference of School Boards, the delegate from Aberdeen admitted that the half-time system had not completely disappeared from the city, but he considered that it was doing so gradually. While the Aberdeen School Board accepted the necessity for child labour on farms, in contrast to the Dundee

Board, it was much less tolerant of half-time pupils who were seen as ill-disciplined, rough mannered, and a bad influence on the other children. [31] However, one headmaster was of the opinion that, while the attendance of half-time girls was not much better than that of half-time boys, nevertheless the former were 'better scholars, on the whole' than the latter. [32]

The fishing industry was a cause of poor attendance in Aberdeen, especially for boys. For example, the herring fishing season began in July and led to very irregular attendance among boys in particular from then into early the following year, while many of the older ones left, including those whom teachers had hoped would further their education: 'Some of the biggest and best boys leaving for the sea'. [33] Still, the fishing industry also employed women, which led to absences notably among older girls whose mothers were engaged 'at the herring'. [34] 'Home-work' was a common reason given for girls' absences from school. Indeed, in 1883, a teacher regretted that one girl who was to be put forward as a candidate for pupil teacher left school 'on the plea that her parents find they will require her services at home.' [35]

The Aberdeen logs also show that both boys and girls were absent at harvest (from September) and especially for potato-lifting. [36] Likewise, Edinburgh logs show poor attendance caused by children being involved in field work, girls kept at home to assist their mothers, and both girls and boys assisting in 'garden work'. [37] Girls in villages around Aberdeen also took time off school to engage in berry-picking, while boys were absent at golf tournaments. [38] Here, both regions had similarities with the central belt. Indeed, the persistence of farm labour for children, and adult females shows the continuing importance of agricultural earnings to working-class families throughout Scotland.

As in Glasgow and Dundee, in Aberdeen and Edinburgh girls, and not boys, were also taught domestic economy, since the SED had decreed, in March 1877, that any girl presented for examination in Specific Subjects must take it. The Aberdeen School Board, however, believed that in most schools, unless cookery was also taught, then that part of the domestic economy syllabus, 'Food and its Preparations', would remain 'book knowledge'; and it complained that the cost of cookery had to be met by the school managers, without help from the Education Department. [39] The Board did not object to the teaching of these

subjects, but to the expense. Edinburgh, like Glasgow, was in a better position: both had not only cookery schools but also forceful proponents of the need to teach cookery to working-class girls and women, such as Christian Guthrie Wright and Louisa Stevenson in Edinburgh and Grace Paterson and Margaret Black in Glasgow. [40]

In June 1889, the Aberdeen Board received a letter from the Science and Art Department which pointed out that girls at Ferryhill School could not be examined again for a grant for drawing unless provision be made for the practical instruction in cookery of all girls in the fourth standard and above who desired it, and unless a 'fair' proportion took advantage of the provision. The Board resolved to inform the Department that it was unable to comply with such a request. [41] Edinburgh also protested against the Department's regulations regarding grants for drawing in elementary schools on the same grounds as Aberdeen, that the grant in the case of girls should not be dependent on the teaching of cookery. The Department refused to make any concession, but Edinburgh continued to teach drawing to girls in most of its schools.

As noted above, sewing was required of all girls attending Board schools in Scotland, but the girls in Aberdeen, like those in the three other major cities, did not always prove willing students. In June 1875, for example, one headteacher recorded that 'some of the girls had repeatedly been warned for disorderly conduct at the sewing class'. [42] As in some schools in Dundee, boys as well as girls got lessons in 'needle drill', but only the latter got knitting. [43] The Eighth Triennial Report of the Proceedings of the Edinburgh School Board (1894-97) showed that in several of the schools, boys as well as girls in the Infant Department received instruction in both sewing and knitting. [44] However, once the children left the Infant Department, a gendered curriculum really took hold, in Edinburgh as elsewhere in Scotland. Again, in these domestic subjects, one issue was expense. The HMI reported for Albion Street School, Aberdeen, in 1882 that domestic economy was largely confined to sewing. Two years later, the HMI suggested that, since at this school the children, the majority of whom were then half-timers, belonged to a very poor class, 'the older girls should be taught darning and patching'. Even that proved difficult, as the HMI report for December 1886 showed:

> The evidence of instruction in sewing and knitting was quite inadequate. The subject cannot be considered to be satisfactorily taught so long as different girls have to share the same piece of work. [45]

If Aberdeen and Edinburgh are taken together with the urban centres discussed in the previous chapter, most notably Dundee and Glasgow, a range of influences can be seen to have shaped working-class education in general in nineteenth-century Scotland, and girls' schooling in particular: the national educational tradition; the local urban context; the surrounding agricultural economy; the needs of pupils' families; the composition of school boards, and specifically any female membership; the teachers; pressure groups such as employers of child labour and the feminist 'home rule' lobby; the churches; central government; and the children themselves. To what extent were such factors replicated in rural Scotland?

4.3: Working-Class Girls' Schooling in the Country Districts of Scotland

The Argyll Commission reported in 1866 that in the agricultural districts, boys from ten years old and upward could earn 20 to 40 shillings, with their food, for half the year, while the girls had to stay at home to take care of the house and their younger siblings to enable their mothers to engage in field work. [46] This comment underestimated the field work done by older girls, as the following discussion will show. Moreover, while School Boards in rural districts accepted the needs of local farmers (who often sat on those Boards), many teachers were alarmed both at the impact of field work on morality, and the damaging effect prolonged absences had on the school as a whole. As an East Lothian school-master complained at the time of the Argyll Commission, it was difficult to take a walk in the countryside without 'having every feeling of decency outraged', and as a case in point:

> I had occasion in the end of last week to pass about a score of young female fieldworkers, among whom a general quarrel seemed to be raging, and the

> violence of the altercation and the language used exceeded anything I ever heard or indeed could have imagined. ... I had no misgivings as to where the boys and girls were initiated into the filthy language which they mouth so glibly. A few days under such training are quite enough to obliterate any good impression made upon the young by teachers and clergymen ... (and) the young are under these bad influences for nine months of the year ... In my own school for three years past now it has been the month of January before there was anything like a fair attendance and by the end of March or beginning of April these same boys and girls are again at work in the fields. [47]

The above comments also reflected a fear that the wives of labouring men worked out of doors so much that they could not possibly attend to the home education of their daughters. Indeed, it was even claimed that it was the mothers, rather than fathers, who decided on school attendance. As the teacher at Breakish School on Skye was told in July 1896, the mothers 'compel their children to stay at home, often against the fathers' wish, while they go out to work'. [48] Given the seasonal nature of rural employment, the parents often had no choice but to keep their children from school. Thus in East Lothian in 1886, the Haddington School Board Officer reported a case of two sisters, aged ten and twelve, who had a very poor record of attendance, the former having made three attendances out of 60, the latter none. The father, a labourer who was often unemployed, was a poacher who spent considerable periods in prison.

> The mother is an outworker and states she is obliged to do so to keep them in food, and the children refuse or neglect to go to school in her absence. I do not think she is very willing to force them. [49]

The Officer reported a similar case concerning a son, but while Boards in Lowland rural areas would prosecute in cases of daughters' absences, they seemed prepared to go to greater lengths for boys. Thus in May and June 1875, a number of older children at Aberlady School in East Lothian had been absent, working in the fields. The Board agreed not to use its compulsory powers except in one case: that of a twelve year old boy who lived with his widowed mother and

whose school fees were paid by the Parochial Board of Haddington. His mother insisted that she needed his earnings to maintain the family, promising to send him to school for the winter season, by which time he would have been 13. The clerk to the School Board was instructed to write to the Parochial Board in order to verify her claim and to ask that the Board 'increase her aliment so as to enable her to keep her son at school'. [50] No similar action has been found in the logs to enable a daughter to be kept on at school.

Yet some parents complained about their daughters' lack of progress in school, despite their frequent absences. In the following case, there is a glimpse of the impact of the latter on the former. The headmaster of Bolton Public School, Haddington, recorded a complaint in July 1878 from a mother that her daughter was 'not getting on fast enough'; but in the previous nine weeks the girl had attended only 43 times out of 82. This situation continued into the next year, by which time the girl was past 12 years of age, yet had reached the level only of the second standard, despite being 'ordinarily intelligent'. [51]

Generally, it was mothers who were recorded as making complaints to teachers in school logs. Fathers rarely figured, unless their wives were ill, when they needed to keep their older children at home, or when they complained about a teacher's punishment of their children. One father, a Perthshire gamekeeper, threatened the schoolmistress of Butterston Public School in November 1899 with 'a stick and the cells' for caning his daughter for lateness; but since the mistress could see no marks on the girl's hands, she refused to accept the father's complaint, and she was supported by the School Board. [52] Boys deemed to be behaving badly received severe punishments, but Perthshire log books record only one expulsion, in 1872, of a girl because of her 'indecent romping with boys while kept in to write an exercise she had neglected at home'. [53] In contrast, two boys were punished 'sharply' in 1884, one for 'interfering with girls in the privies', the other for 'annoying a girl in a specially offensive manner'; but they were allowed to remain in school. [54] Thus, girls and boys alike were liable to corporal punishment, but parents seemed more likely to complain about daughters being punished with the strap ('pammies') than sons. On the other hand, if a pupil's behaviour was deemed sexually improper, a girl was more likely to receive the ultimate punishment of expulsion.

Farm work was seasonal, but also constant, and, like jobs such as mining, often involved 'flitting' to another job which would have an adverse effect on schooling. For both girls and boys whose parents needed their wages and expected their children to become farm workers in turn, schooling was not so important, though the fact that children, and especially boys, attended when not needed in the fields, showed that parents placed some value on schooling. Girls in Lowland rural areas had less choice in paid employment - farm work, domestic service - than boys, only moving in significant numbers into factory work during the First World War. [55] In particular, women and children were crucial to the potato harvest. Heather Holmes' study of potato harvesting in the Lothians reveals that boys and girls were employed in roughly equal numbers, and that, in terms of casual seasonal farm work, it was the largest single employer of child labour into the second half of the twentieth century. [56]

While girls as much as boys were employed at the potato harvest throughout Scotland, including the areas of mixed economy such as Ayrshire, in the Borders the attendance of girls seemed to improve towards the end of the century. Thus, at Lauriston Public School in Kirkcudbright, there were not only more boys on the roll in the 1870s and 1880s, but their attendance, though irregular, was higher than that of the girls. By the 1890s, the gaps in enrolment and attendance between boys and girls had narrowed considerably, though both were still irregular. [57]

In contrast to the Borders, the geography of the Highlands and Islands, as well as the widespread, endemic poverty and the widely scattered population, meant that the Lowland style of parochial school was often not appropriate. Obstacles to attendance noted in chapter three, such as bad weather, distance, poor roads, want of clothing and shoes, were magnified in the Highland context. Both the government and the Church of Scotland regarded education as a key factor in 'civilising' the Highlands and Islands. Indeed, since the early eighteenth century, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) had been charged with erecting schools and supplying teachers. It had tended to assume an absence of, and even a resistance to, education. [58] This points to another difference between the Borders and the Highlands, which was the religious obstacle, as perceived by the SSPCK. For example, before the 1872 Act,

the only schools in the predominantly Catholic islands of South Uist, Barra and Eriskay were provided by Protestant organisations, of which the Catholic Church was very suspicious. After 1872, the appointment of teachers was sometimes a cause of bitter dispute. With no Catholic teacher-training institution in Scotland until 1894, certificated Catholic applicants to Board schools had been trained in England, and generally had no Gaelic. On the first point, the HMIs and Board members regarded them as inferior to Scottish-trained teachers, though the Catholic Church suspected a sectarian bias. [59] Still, this was not simply a sectarian divide. Ray Burnett has argued that the Highland Catholic experience differed substantially from the west-central Catholic experience, where the majority of Catholic schools were located. In the latter region, the Catholics were in a minority, however considerable in places, whereas significantly Catholic areas stretched across the Highlands and Islands. Yet in his view, the latter were disregarded by the Church authorities, in the sense of being a 'distinct, organic, cultural and linguistic entity', which also affected the schooling of the Catholic community. [60]

This brings us back to the second point, the issue of language. The Napier Commission of Inquiry into the condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands in the early 1880s, regretted that since the 1872 Act, the practice of offering bursaries to male and female students from the Highlands and Islands to enter the training colleges of the Established and Free Churches with a view to qualifying to teach in Gaelic-speaking districts had been discontinued, and 'there is comparatively little inducement for Highland students to prefer employment as teachers in their native districts'. [61] The Napier Commission Report confirmed that generally adult women had received the poorest education. Thus, it noted that in the Hebrides the education of the adult population, and of women in particular, had advanced little:

> the percentage of men in the Hebrides that signed their names by mark in the marriage registers in 1862 was 47.6 and of women 64.8. In 1882 the male percentage had fallen to 32.6, the female percentage only to 61.2. [62]

While the Napier Commission showed that there had been progress in Highland education for girls as well as boys, more boys than girls were offered opportunities for secondary and post-secondary education, and the one occupation in the Highlands and Islands to which an educated girl might aspire was that of schoolmistress. Indeed, the Napier Commissioners thought it desirable that:

> the number of female teachers in the Highlands and Islands should be increased, whether as sole teachers or assistants. They are generally not less successful than male teachers, up to the measure of their qualifications; they can teach branches of which men can know nothing, but which are of great practical importance; they cost less; and they contribute a little more of those civilising influences which women exert, and which cannot be estimated by arithmetic. [63]

In his study of the decline of Celtic languages, Victor Durkacz noted that in Highland education, even more than in the Lowlands, girls attended school for a shorter time on average than boys. Indeed, between 1796 and 1821, boys had consistently outnumbered girls by at least two to one in the SSPCK schools, while in 1837 the General Assembly's schools reported that girls were usually withdrawn once they had acquired the ability to write and were reading in English and Gaelic. All the more advanced branches were the preserve of the boys. In contrast, the Evangelical emphasis of the circulating schools of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society (EGSS), which taught only Gaelic literacy, attracted a far higher proportion of female scholars than that which attended the parochial, SSPCK and General Assembly schools. [64] Withers' study of Gaelic Scotland backs this up: General Assembly schools (from 1825) differed from those of the Gaelic Society in having a much less equitable ratio between male and female scholars which, though not as marked a bias towards males as in the SSPCK schools, was never as balanced as the sex ratio in the Gaelic schools. [65] Female schooling was particularly neglected in the Islands and Western Highlands where education was viewed simply as a means of enabling the scholar to migrate. However, parents considered that daughters as much as sons would benefit from being able to read the Gaelic Bible, so that there was equality of attendance at the

EGSS schools: indeed, by 1861, females were thought worthy to be taught writing and arithmetic in these schools. [66] In his report to the Argyll Commission, Sheriff Nicolson showed how great an impact the EGSS had had in promoting Gaelic literacy, especially among women. [67] He favoured the use of Gaelic in the early stages of education as a means to improve the knowledge of English, but the 1872 Act had made no provision for Gaelic in the curriculum, which hurt girls more than boys. Ironically, the fact that, at least until the 1872 Act, girls in the Highlands and Islands were under-educated may have helped preserve the Gaelic language: Gaelic was the language of the home, English of the school and commerce.

Both Withers and Durkacz were concerned with the decline of Gaelic and the process of anglicisation. English was the language of the upper classes and of the economy, and was therefore seen in the Highlands and Islands as being of more use to men than to women. One reason for favouring boys in terms of English schooling was that their education was potentially of more financial benefit to the family, since males earned more than females, and had more opportunity for skilled work. Yet, as Christine Lodge has shown, women played a crucial role in the nineteenth-century Highland economy. While there was a sexual division of labour in crofting communities, the home and its vicinity formed the working environment for both females and males. In addition, women as well as men migrated for work. [68] Both Lodge and Iain Robertson show that women were as central as men to the functioning of the crofting economy in the nineteenth century, that female labour was as arduous as male whether in the fields, in fishing, or in the kelp industry, and that women shared men's reasons for protesting their situation. [69] The school logs also show that child labour was essential to the crofting economy, girls even more than boys because the former were also expected to help with domestic tasks, and because their future was, generally, bound by the croft, even if they migrated for waged work seasonally. In *The Making of the Crofting Community*, James Hunter argues that it was not a Highland practice for single tenants of smallholdings to pay rent to a landowner until the end of the eighteenth century. In his view, the origins of the crofting system lie in industrialisation, and the Highland Clearances. In addition, crofting coincided with the potato becoming the Highlanders' staple crop and diet. Hunter

holds that the crofting system was designed not to be self-sufficient but to create a virtually unlimited supply of cheap labour, for the kelp and fishing industries. He portrays the crofter as a man with a family. [70] What this study of Highland school logs, exemplified by the Perthshire Board schools discussed below, as well as the work of Lodge and Robertson, confirms is that the crofting system was above all a family system, dependent for its survival on the labour of wives and children, daughters as much as, and often more than, sons. It is clear that the father's work alone was insufficient to support the family. Women did field work as well as run the home. Both parents depended on their elder children to help either by working on the land, or working in the home to allow the mother to do so. The log books show that the sexual division of labour placed more demands on girls than on boys, since, besides being able to contribute wages to the family income and labour to the croft, older daughters were usually called upon to help the mother at home, highlighting how heavy household labour was, particularly the washing of clothes.

School Boards in the Highlands, like those in the Lowlands, discussed the perennial problem of poor attendance, and summoned parents to explain their children's absence, but seem to have accepted that families needed their children, and also their mothers, to work and did not pursue defaulters vigorously. Indeed, the Kildonan School Board in Sutherland received a letter from the Scotch Education Department at the beginning of 1892 complaining of the persistently low attendance. [71] Both girls and boys were required for 'home work' or were recorded as absent on account of 'home circumstances'. [72] Older boys were more likely than girls to be noted as absent due to work with peats or driving cattle. [73] However, the teacher at Eskadale Roman Catholic School recorded the absence of the older girls in May 1895, due to their herding cows, and though most logs noted that the 'stronger children' worked the peats, some recorded specifically that the older girls did so. [74] Even younger children, not yet strong enough for work on the family croft, would be kept at home if their parents found them 'sufficiently useful in spreading peats'. [75] The general impression is that the girls' absences were under-recorded: for example at Duisdale Public School in the county of Inverness, the teacher noted in April 1900 that 'the greater part of the senior boys are kept at home for work at sea weed', and yet the boys' average

attendance of 26.9 considerably outstripped that of the girls, at 13.4. [76] Moreover, it seems that girls were likely to be kept at home more often than boys: thus at Braes Public School in Inverness-shire, the headteacher regretted that 'owing to very irregular attendance the girls in Vl are making slow progress in arithmetic' and at Breakish School on Skye, the headteacher repeatedly complained of long and frequent absences of the older girls in particular. [77] Attendance for both boys and girls, but especially the latter, was irregular: of the 53 boys on the role of Breakish school on 30 June 1882, the average attendance for that week had been 30; of the 35 girls on the roll, it was 19; a year later, on 12 July, 55 boys were present to only 26 girls. [78] Moreover, while a minority of senior boys might return to school for the winter season, it was generally not expected that the senior girls would do so. [79] The headmaster of a very small school in Inverness-shire, in an area where crofting, shore work (cutting seaweed, gathering shellfish) and peat-cutting were vital to family survival, commented in 1877 on parental attitudes to schooling:

> The parents are in general uneducated themselves and they do not consider that there is any use whatever in educating the females, and the consequence is that they are kept but a very short time at school if sent at all. [80]

Attendance at the Macdiarmid School in Portree was recorded on 30 July 1880 for the year as: total number of attendances for 3-7 year olds, 3479, of which boys made up 2253, girls 1226; total number of attendances for pupils over 7 years of age, 10408, of which boys constituted 6623 and girls 3785. [81] There was a similar pattern at Toran Public School on Skye where it was reported on 3 June 1887 that the total number of attendances for 3-7 year old boys had been 226, girls 287; but for boys and girls over seven, it was 6168 and 2744 respectively. Here the average number of boys recorded for the year was 23.6, and of girls only 11.5. [82] When the opposite situation occurred, it was thought unusual enough to be noted. Thus the teacher at Invermoriston Public School noted in June 1881 that: 'The number of attendances made by boys is this week less than that made by girls. In no other instance has this been the case for the last five years.' [83]

Certainly, though even at the end of the century girls were still more likely to be kept from school than boys, the situation improved, at least for a minority of girls. As noted above, one exit for girls from the croft, besides migration, was to become in effect a lass of parts, by taking the route of pupil teacher and then training as a teacher. By the end of the century, the SSPCK was promoting post-elementary education, mainly for boys, but also for girls. The boys were offered five bursaries for training in 'some trade or mechanical art', and four for Gaelic-speakers to continue their education at secondary schools. There were also four bursaries awarded by competition to Gaelic-speaking young men about to enter university for the first time, and another four awarded to students who had already attended two sessions at university. In addition, two bursaries were offered to boys and two to girls who wanted to become teachers, to enable them to enter a training college: in 1887, 20 boys and 17 girls competed for these. [84]

This indicates that some girls at least benefited from the development of education in the later nineteenth century, and that in rural areas there were growing opportunities for a lass of parts, though not on the scale offered in Glasgow. In the Lothians by the 1890s, increasing numbers of girls were taking higher subjects. The Midlothian Committee on Secondary Education recorded girls taking Latin and mathematics, as well as French in 1894. That year, in the bursary examinations, the top five were girls, and the following year, the top two were girls. The Committee expressed pride in such achievements, but worried that pupils from the elementary sector were now disadvantaged in terms of bursaries, compared to those in the secondary sector. [85] By the 1890s, most girls in East Lothian who stayed on at school and achieved the merit certificate seemed destined for school teaching. The entry of women into universities, however, widened the educational career path for a minority. Thus Haddington Combined School Board advertised in April 1894 for a senior female teacher, 'a lady with a University Degree being preferred' for the Knox Institute, a higher class Public School. The prospectus for the Institute for 1893-94 boasted of the honours gained by former pupils. While ten men had graduated from Edinburgh University, one woman had gained an LLA from St. Andrews, and then attended the school of medicine for women, gaining a number of prizes, including second class honours in surgery, a prize for clinical surgery, first class honours in clinical

medicine, and a prize in mental diseases. [86] The situation was similar in the counties of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, where a few girls were taught Specific Subjects, and not only domestic economy but also Latin. Certainly, here too the demands of farming drew pupils from schools, but better, or less inclement, weather than in the Highlands meant a speedier return. [87]

In the Highlands, as in the rest of Scotland, where secondary departments and schools were established, it was in towns. Thus the School Board for Kilmallie decided in February 1893 to establish a secondary department at Fort William Public School. For staff, they sought a male assistant who was both a university graduate and a certificated teacher (at £120 per annum), and a female certificated assistant who also had a university education (at £80 per annum). Besides English and music, she was expected, like the female teacher appointed to the senior department at Kingussie Public School, to concentrate on teaching modern languages to the whole school. [88] Yet even at schools where higher subjects were taught, only a few, and fewer girls than boys, could benefit as both were still expected by their parents to be engaged in agricultural work in spring and summer. [89] Indeed, at Achnarrow Public School in Inverness-shire in 1879 Specific Subjects were almost discontinued owing to the irregularity of attendance, while nearly 20 years later at Braes School, where girls as well as boys were taught Latin, the older children were needed so much by their parents that the year's work in Specific Subjects was 'in great measure lost'. [90] Teachers in most Highland schools simply did not have the help, in the form of assistants, to allow them to concentrate on higher subjects. Indeed, even at a grammar school in Inverness-shire, the master complained in 1891 that if the Board intended to have boys prepared for the universities, it was essential that he be relieved of all standard instruction and that an additional assistant be appointed to help with Specific Subjects. Ironically, within three years, girls outnumbered boys in the secondary department of this school, and were being taught Latin because the new headmaster insisted 'there was no other means of keeping them occupied'. [91]

For the most part, Specific Subjects were not taught in Highland Catholic schools, though Latin, French, domestic economy and, by the 1890s, cookery, were offered at St. Joseph's in Inverness. [92] In the majority of Highland schools, boys and girls alike were taught the basics, with the girls in addition getting

sewing as required for the government grant. Indeed, in rural, particularly Highland, areas the preoccupation with imparting domestic skills to girls seems to have stemmed more from a fear for their morality and the stability of their families, than a desire to provide them with skills suited to service, which was more the case in Edinburgh and Aberdeen. As elsewhere in the country, there was resistance to the prominence of sewing in the girls' curriculum in Highland schools. Teachers tried to ensure that sewing did not interfere with the rest of the curriculum, for example by teaching it during playtime, a practice which the Assynt School Board in Sutherland county warned against in 1873. [93] More often, the problem was non-attendance at sewing classes. In 1881, the School Board of the Parish of Ardersier in the county of Inverness noted that, in the previous quarter there had never been more than 20 out of 56 on the roll who attended, and while there had been considerable improvement in the current quarter, with attendance almost doubling, there was still parental opposition to sewing. The schoolmaster argued that, when faced with notes from parents forbidding their daughters to attend the sewing class, there was little he could do: 'and of course I am bound to respect them, seeing how I am placed in regard to fees'. [94] Many of the teachers' complaints echoed those of their Lowland and urban counterparts. Thus an assistant at Strontian Public School in Argyllshire who also served as the sewing mistress complained in 1876 that the girls brought neither sewing or knitting. [95] The schoolmaster at Abernethy in Inverness-shire punished girls for repeatedly not bringing work for sewing, and the HMI commented in 1877 that: 'Sewing very little and moderately; it must improve, and the girls should attend to it more regularly. Knitting very good. Darning and mending should be weekly.' [96] Even where the work was done, it was not always made available for inspection. Thus at Dingwall in January 1886, the headmaster was directed:

> to insist on the pupils giving up their work to the Sewing Mistress until after the annual inspection. Several parents have insisted on the contrary that the work done by the children is private property, and that as such they are entitled to the use of it when finished. [97]

Certainly, there were frequent complaints from HMIs about the lack of specimens and the backwardness in needlework. [98] The situation was similar in the few Catholic schools in the Highlands, where there was a combination of parental resistance and poverty: 'Parents in most cases persistently decline to furnish work for girls, especially little ones.' [99] This pattern of resistance expressed through non-attendance at sewing classes, or refusal to supply materials was replicated in the Borders into the 1890s. [100]

Until the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, schools in rural areas had difficulties in introducing cookery, mainly because of the cost, both to the Board and to the pupils. It was, however, offered in the south in urban centres such as Dumfries, partly due to the proselytising efforts of cookery school heads such as Mrs Black in Glasgow. She wrote to the Dumfries Burgh School Board in 1882 requesting its patronage for cookery classes which she intended to open in the town in the autumn. The Board agreed, and in addition resolved to invite three female teachers in its employ to attend the course run by Mrs. Black, with fees paid by the Board. Mrs Black then offered to give the Board tickets for senior girls at half price. The Board continued to support these classes, and in June 1884 resolved to introduce cookery classes into the three elementary schools under its aegis in the next session. [101] It was common for School Boards in Dumfries to encourage and support their female teachers' attendance at evening cookery classes, in the expectation that they would continue the classes as teachers in future, as well as teaching cookery in the Board schools. [102]

It seems to have been easier to introduce cookery into schools, even in villages, in the agricultural south of Scotland than in the Highlands. Thus in October 1892, cookery lessons were not only commenced in Laurieston village in Kirkcudbrightshire, but the girls in the top three standards were allowed to attend free. [103] There could be no such generosity in Highland schools, however. Newspapers show that middle-class women tried to compensate for the lack of cookery facilities in schools by arranging for a qualified cookery teacher to visit an urban centre, such as Inverness, to give demonstration lessons in both 'high class and artisan cooking'. [104]

People in Lowland agricultural regions could look for work, whether on a temporary or permanent basis, in relatively close urban or industrial areas,

whereas Highlanders generally had considerably longer distances to migrate. Education in rural areas 'privileged' boys who were seen as the principal migrant contributor to the family income. Yet women in Scotland were even more mobile than men, as pointed out in chapter one. The following section compares an area with a relatively important urban centre (Perth), which was recognised as a 'gateway' to the Highlands, with a rich agricultural region (the Carse of Gowrie), and with a Highland region.

4.4: Schooling in Perthshire

In his study of the Highland economy between 1750 and 1850, Malcolm Gray has suggested that Perthshire was probably the most powerful contact between Lowlands and Highlands. In his later study of Lowland Perthshire from the mid 1850s to the eve of the First World War, Craig Young includes Perth, along with Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow, as a major city in Scotland. [105] Perth was considerably smaller: from a population of 23,835 in 1851, it grew to almost 30,000 in the next four decades. Still, Perth certainly remained an important market town for agricultural produce in the nineteenth century, but as a port it had been eclipsed by Dundee and by the development of the railways; while Perth's textile industry had been overtaken not only by Dundee, but also by the development of coal-produced steam power, since Perth was too far from the coalfields. [106]

As in Dundee, local economic needs influenced schooling; but whereas in Dundee the textile industry was the main employer of schoolchildren, in Perthshire farms and family crofts were key sites of child labour. In Dundee, the half-time system of education was prevalent, whereas in Perthshire, schooling was more of a seasonal experience. Richard Rodger has argued that virtually the entire textile sector in Dundee could be said to be seasonal, making for irregular employment and, of course, schooling. [107] While the seasonal nature of children's employment in the fields of Perthshire was probably more regular (weather permitting), it may have meant lengthier absences from school. Thus the head teacher at Ardtalnaig Public School in the Kenmore Parish of Perthshire complained in 1875 and 1876 that some boys came in only for 'a quarter' (eleven

weeks), and commented that he found them 'lazy'. [108] Given the field work in which they had been engaged, perhaps that was not surprising, while such behaviour may parallel that of half-timers from the Dundee mills. However, in contrast to the Dundee logs, where the half-time system of education was held responsible for pupil indiscipline, there were few complaints in the Perthshire logs of unruliness by boys or girls. Moreover, the fact that boys in Perthshire who were above school age went back to the classroom for such a short time perhaps indicates a desire, either on their part or on that of their parents, to improve their education. Certainly, the head of Ardtalnaig School admitted as much in another entry for December 1879; and while he focused on the boys' situation, it seems that older girls were absent as much as the boys on a seasonal basis, working in the fields. Thus in April 1880, the head teacher of Balgowan Public School recorded that 'two girls have left for the summer season'. [109] Indeed, the logs show that boys were more likely to finish their education by returning in the winter, while girls were more likely to be kept at home to help with housework and childcare. Again, this is not to downplay the extent to which older girls participated in field work, as the following discussion will show. Indeed, middle-class contemporaries feared that such work, by both mothers and daughters, meant that the latter could not learn what were deemed the necessary domestic skills in the home. Thus a Female Industrial School was established in Errol (in the Carse of Gowrie), because:

> a large number of girls in the Parish of Errol were suffered to grow up to womanhood without receiving any industrial education such as was calculated to fit them for those positions in society which they were afterwards to occupy either as domestic servants, or as the wives of working men. [110]

As noted in the previous section, a main reason for poor attendance of girls as well as boys was poverty. Thus 'want of clothing' in winter was often the explanation given by parents to the charge of neglecting their children's education. The same School Board, Auchterarder, consistently recorded without comment fewer attendances for girls than for boys. For example, the average

attendance for the quarter May to July 1880 was 77.2 for boys, and 56.6 for the girls. Entries in the log book of Bendochy Public School for the 1880s and 1890s implied that poverty was more likely to keep girls than boys from school, which indicates a ranking of need, with priority in clothing given to boys. [111] At the same time, this reflected parental perceptions of girls being more useful than boys at home.

Although School Boards in Perthshire recorded parents being brought to account for defaulting on their children's education, often reasons were not given. Still, Boards tried to enforce attendance regulations, for girls as well as for boys. Thus on 14 May 1889, the Abernethy School Board informed one father that if his daughter was not sent to school to complete her education, proceedings would be instituted not only against him, but also against the girl's (female) employer. [112] In August 1879, another father requested leave of Blackford School Board to allow his daughter (who was recorded as being between eleven and twelve years of age) to be sent out to service. The Board refused, however, because she did not have the Inspector's certificate of proficiency. [113]

Parents determinedly resisted teachers' efforts to enforce attendance. The parental view seemed to be that while schooling was necessary and desirable, the needs of the family came first, and parental authority took precedence. The teacher at the Central District School in Perth recorded in the log book for 31 May 1882:

> I asked about a girl … who had been absent from School for seven weeks and the mother told the messenger to inform me that I had been making enquiries too often already about her and that she would send her to school when she was ready. [114]

Similarly, the village schoolmistress of Butterston Public School noted, in November 1899, considerable parental anger when she reported their children's absences. [115]

While girls as well as boys were absent from school because they were working in the fields (cases of which will be discussed below), generally it was girls who were recorded absent because of a mother's ill-health and, more often,

to help with the housework. In one case, in Auchtergarven, in the Strathtay district of Perthshire, a girl was kept at home to assist her mother with the washing 58 times in one quarter of 1880, while another two girls, sisters Maggie and Lizzie, had attended only 21 and 26 out of 65 days respectively. No reason was given for the sisters' absences. [116] Occasionally, boys were kept from school for domestic reasons. The headmaster of Aberdalgie Public School complained in March 1885 of a boy's repeated absences, and cited a letter in reply from the boy's home: 'My boy is kept at home for the Doctor when wanted and [to go for] medicine and more than that he will be 13 years and I think I can keep him a day when I want if necessary'. [117] It was not, then, so much parental neglect of a child's education which resulted in frequent absences, but the needs of the family; and while the log books show that older girls were more often absent for domestic work, if there were no elder daughters, parents perforce had to rely on sons. Indeed, an entry for 10 May 1889 in the Dunning Public School log recorded the teacher's impression that 'boys here seem far more familiar with household work than girls'. [118] Yet parents who depended on older children to help in the home were more likely to send their sons to school when possible, whereas daughters were more likely to be withdrawn completely. In addition, the demands on the children came from the extended family. Thus, in January 1874, one girl had to leave school to wait on her ill aunt. [119]

Girls as well as boys, and the impression is as often as boys, were withdrawn from school in Perthshire to work in the fields. Outdoor labour could last from March until November, with a brief break in August and September. From the log books, the work children were employed in consisted of:

March	herding
April	planting potatoes
May	planting potatoes; oak bark peeling; clover stone gathering
June	oak bark peeling; peat making; turnip sowing; tending sheep
July	cutting thistles; strawberry gathering; hay making
October	beating at game;
November	corn cutting; potato lifting and turnip pulling

With the exception of cutting thistles, tending sheep and beating at game, which are recorded in the logs as reasons for male absences only, girls and boys did the same work. [120] By November 1880 the teacher at Balnaguard Public School was lamenting that 'some of the boys and girls being absent all summer had to be put back having forgotten all their previously learned lessons'. [121] This was repeated by the HMI in April 1884 who noted that while the work of the younger pupils was 'decidedly good', the attendance of the older boys and girls was so brief and so irregular that 'little can be made of them'. [122]

The headmaster at Bendochy Public School recorded in December 1879 that the girls were attending better than the boys, which he related to the perceived usefulness to the former and their families of the garment making classes in that school. [123] The Bendochy headmaster also noted that in the approach to the New Year holidays, fewer girls were present; while in July and December 1880 he had recorded the average attendances of boys and girls which indicate that the latter were absent more often than the former: the sum of attendances for the quarter ending in July were 3057 for the boys, 2185 for the girls; and for the quarter ending in December, 3482 for the boys, 2559 for the girls. [124] It was more common for log books to report relatively better attendance by boys than girls. [125] As elsewhere in Scotland, the demands of the family economy came first, which underlined the domestic expectations of older girls and women. Indeed, in August 1878, the teacher at Gleneagles Public School reported that there was no sewing class because the sewing mistress was absent, engaged in the harvest field; while in 1897 the teacher at Foss Public School noted that even the pupil from the manse was out of school 'clover-stone gathering'. [126] This suggests a very pragmatic approach to education for both sexes, but particularly for girls. The fact that such pragmatism extended even to the sewing mistress reflects both the poor remuneration for needlework teaching and the low attendance of girls at harvest time.

Sometimes the schooling of whole families, and not just the elder son or daughter, was affected by the demands of home. It should be remembered that children not only worked for wages for farmers, but were required to help on the family croft. [127] Thus one family of six (four brothers and two sisters) were recorded in the log book of Blairnroar Public School in May 1888 as all working

industriously when at school, but as doing no home work, and as frequently absent for field work. [128] The headmaster at Drumour Public School recorded on 27 October 1876:

> Potatoes are not yet up. Weather very unsuitable for lifting potatoes. Parents will not send their children to school till they are lifted. The reason is, that the majority of the farms in this district are small ones, or crofts, and these crofters have none to assist them but their own children, hence until their harvest work is completed, they do not send them to school. [129]

This point was also made by the teacher of Kinclaven Public School in November 1870, highlighting the dependence of the crofters on even their youngest children's labour. [130]

Generally, the winter months from December (that is, after the potatoes have been lifted) were a time when children attended school more regularly, since they were not needed in the fields until March. Yet winter brought other obstacles - inadequate clothing and long distances from school - to regular attendance, and most notably the weather, with snowfalls often making travel to school impossible. In addition, there was the lack of daylight: as the teacher at Clunie Public School remarked on 17 December 1875, darkness cut school hours where children who lived at a distance had to return home. [131] At another school, in the village of Dunning, in south-east Perthshire, the teacher recorded on 23 December 1881: 'As it gets short very quickly after 3pm, sewing has been stopped for a week; girls get arithmetic instead'. [132]

In only one case - Newbigging - in November 1864 did the schoolmaster resolve 'to keep the school on alternative Saturdays for the winter, to benefit the older boys'. [133] No similar resolution was made for the girls, though they may have benefited from the school being open. As for the School Boards and the enforcement of attendance, one teacher lamented that, when it came to a choice between attendance or field work, the farmer's needs took precedence over the teacher's. [134]

Reasons for leaving school were more often given in the logs for boys than for girls, suggesting that more importance was placed on boys than on girls

completing their education; but while it seems that the latter were more likely to withdraw from school to help in the home, both boys and girls left to go into service, to work in a factory, or to do outdoor labour. [135] If children did not remain in service, they might return to school: for example, one girl was readmitted to Butterston Public School in December 1881 after only two weeks in service. [136]

Occasionally a lad, and more rarely a lass, of parts are glimpsed in the Perthshire log books. Thus one boy from a Board School was recorded as leaving in October 1877 for Edinburgh University, after he had completed his pupil-teacher apprenticeship of five years. [137] It might be significant that his school was in Perth, and relatively large compared to the majority of Board schools in Perthshire, having both a master and a mistress, and six pupil teachers, of which he was the only male. Another boy, a farmer's son from Clunie Public School, was described by his teacher in 1875 as a 'prince among pupil teachers'. This boy went to Aberdeen University, eventually taking a degree and becoming a mathematics master at Aberdeen Grammar School: his progress was noted in his old school log book. [138]

Only a few boys, and fewer girls, in Perthshire Board Schools, however, seemed to benefit from the meritocratic tradition in Scottish education. While the boys had the opportunity to attend university, at least until the end of the century the girls could not. However, one girl (from Drummore Public School) is recorded as going on to a 'Ladies' school' in Blairgowrie in October 1876, which indicates that she came from a relatively well-off family, able to afford both the fees and the loss of her potential earnings. [139] The vast majority of her female schoolmates (as indeed of the boys) were recorded as leaving for paid labour as soon as possible. Yet a tiny minority of girls at least gained the opportunity for advanced level study before women were admitted to universities on a par with men in 1894. In June 1884, two girls of Kinloch Public School went to St. Andrews University to sit the Local Examinations for the Junior Certificate in French, English, history and geography, and physical geography. [140]

In practice, only a few Specific Subjects seem to have been taught in a few of the Board Schools in Perthshire in this period, and the impression is that for the most part they were directed at the boys. Thus in March 1878, the Reverend

McCallum visited Ardtalnaig Public School and read a statement concerning bursaries to the elder boys, while in November of the following year, the older boys at that school were taught algebra, with a small group given Euclid. [141] The headteacher at Aberdalgie Public School recorded a letter from the School Board dated March 27, 1894, which informed him that it had been given a grant from the County Council for the promotion of scientific education, which the Board proposed to do by forming a botanical field class 'for the boys and young men of the parish who may care to attend'. [142] The boys of this school were also taught Latin and book-keeping; but there were complaints in December 1879 from the parents of some of the boys in the advanced classes, who did not wish their sons to get either Euclid or Latin, though none of their reasons was recorded. Yet it appears that science was not taught to boys exclusively: for example, in August 1888 at Blackwater Public School, a girl was recorded as performing very fairly in botany, as well as in domestic economy, and moderately in French. [143]

There were other cases of girls receiving tuition in Specific Subjects. At Dull Public School in April 1890 the HMI reported that a boy and a girl 'beyond the standards' did very well in Latin and mathematics, while at Dunning Public School it was recorded for May 1889 that girls did remarkably well in mathematics. Indeed, in June 1892 seven girls from this latter school were absent for three days in order to sit the University Local Examinations in Edinburgh. This case seems to show that what has been described as the myth of universality and democracy in the Scottish educational tradition had some substance: however, a year later, at the same school, half the boys and almost half the girls of the upper classes were absent at field or garden work. [144]

On 17 August 1883, the teacher at Drummie Public School began an algebra class with a boy and a girl, and seven years later the same master was teaching Latin and mathematics to two girls and one boy in the Ex-VIth standard. In 1895, three girls at this school were studying Latin, despite demands of home and outdoor work. Indeed, the teacher lamented the loss of one girl from his small school to the larger Blairgowrie Public School in January 1896, where she intended trying for the Leaving Certificate. She had been very irregular in attendance in 1895, but was clearly determined to succeed, and the teacher followed her progress even after she left. She won a bursary in March 1896,

enabling her to continue school, as did another of his female students, whom he recorded in April 1900 as passing a scholarship examination. [145]

Of course, cases such as these may have been the result of a teacher who was anxious to teach more than the basics, but had to include girls to make any classes in Specific Subjects viable. Yet the interest with which the teachers followed the girls' progress suggests that it was not simply a matter of making up the numbers. At Kinloch Public School on 18 June 1880, a new Latin class was formed of three girls; no boys could be persuaded to join it, though one did so later. [146] Only occasionally was Greek taught, and more often to a boy than a girl. Yet again there was the exception: a girl was taught Greek at Monzievaird and Strowan Public School in 1877 and another girl at the same school in1893. [147] It is a moot point how effective the teaching of any of the Specific Subjects was, given the irregularity of attendance. Thus at Blairnroar Public School the teacher complained on 16 January 1891 that, though a boy and a girl had returned to school, they arrived:

> having forgotten a great deal that with a great deal of trouble I taught them. Have had to begin at the beginning of their French - their Latin I must give up as they have forgotten and do not learn at home. [148]

What is interesting in this case is that the teacher trying so hard to include Latin, traditionally seen as the preserve of the university-educated parochial school-master, in the curriculum of this small Board school was a woman.

As already noted, domestic economy was the one Specific Subject which was exclusively taught to the girls. Sometimes, it was the only Specific Subject taught in a school (as in Butterston in 1885), and occasionally it was taught by a schoolmaster (as at Drumour in 1883). [149] One girl, at Blackford Public School, was recorded as having stopped studying English literature in 1884 in order to take domestic economy; but what is interesting is that in a few cases, domestic economy was combined with the more traditionally masculine subjects such as Latin (at for example Glenshee Public School in 1896 and Glendoick Public School in 1894). [150]

Unlike domestic economy, needlework was compulsory for all girls. Often, the sewing mistress was the headmaster's wife. [151] The financial benefit to the headteacher's family is obvious, while the situation reflected a long-standing dependence on husband and wife (and occasionally sister and brother) partnerships to staff small schools in poorer and sometimes remote rural areas. As in Dundee, but in contrast to Glasgow, knitting was encouraged - indeed, at Balgowan Public School, knitting and sewing were taught 'simultaneously', with 'encouraging results'. Girls here also quilted. [152] In December 1876, at Balnaguard Public School, girls were kept at sewing to allow the teacher to catch up with the timetable for the boys, but more often, girls would spend a day sewing because their irregular attendance meant that they had not completed the schedule for a grant. [153]

There was resistance from parents to their daughters being taught sewing in school, unless it was seen to be of practical use to the older girls, and perhaps because they were not needed in the fields or at home. At Balnaguard Public School, in December 1894, two older girls resumed school 'for the season for lessons in the morning and to make clothing in the afternoon'; and again in January 1895, four older girls returned, while two finished a shirt each. [154] While the educational authorities deemed sewing *per se* to be useful to working-class girls, the latter and their parents were more discriminating. As an 'industrial' subject, it was much less important to Perthshire than it was to the textile towns of Dundee and Paisley. Again, it was the needs of the family which influenced attendance at sewing classes.

More frequently recorded, however, were cases of resistance. The actions taken to persuade the girls to conform are interesting. Thus at Gleneagles Public School, the sewing mistress asked the teacher to compel the girls to be more careful in their work. He considered that he did not have the power to do so; but he imposed such an unwelcome (and unspecified) task on those who were careless that it proved a 'potent cure'. [155] The schoolmistress at Blairnroar Public School, punished three girls in May 1878 for coming to school without their sewing, by giving them a task to memorise during the sewing hour, but she did not say whether this tactic succeeded. [156] The teacher at Monzie Public School recorded in February 1897 that he had drawn one mother's attention to the fact that her

daughter Nellie had attended without sewing or knitting for three weeks, and that what material she had supplied did not meet government regulations. The mother being unresponsive, he wrote to the father. The mother then complained to the School Board about the industrial work, and though the Board found against her, Nellie still attended without the necessary material. The last record of Nellie was that she was employed by a farmer in July 1900, despite her being under 14 years of age and with neither the merit nor the labour certificate. [157] As a final example, overt resistance to sewing was recorded at Barleton Public School in December 1864:

> Sewing as usual, but only attended by a small proportion of the girls, as in general the parents do not attach much importance to the Sewing Department, and it is with great difficulty that they can be prevailed upon to send their girls to it at all. [158]

There were other incentives than punishment to entice the girls to sew. On 26 June, 1882, the majority of girls at Kinfauns Public School absented themselves on Friday afternoon to dress for a tea party given annually to those attending the sewing class. [159]

Very occasionally, sewing and knitting were taught to both sexes. [160] When the girls alone were sewing or knitting, sometimes the boys or the teacher would read to them 'on some interesting topic'. [161] Yet some teachers baulked at the way in which sewing interrupted the other subjects of the curriculum. Indeed one teacher temporarily 'forgot' it: the schoolmaster of Newbigging Public School admitted in October 1895 that 'having discovered that I had omitted sewing from my scheme of class subjects I wrote another inserting it'. [162] Most tolerated a lesson of an hour a day, while a few agreed to short, concentrated spells of sewing; but some arrangements made to suit the sewing teacher were clearly experienced as disruptive by the class teacher. For example, the teacher at Gleneagles Public School complained in December 1877 about the School Board's arrangement with the sewing mistress, who attended each Monday and Friday from 1.30pm to 4pm, and as a consequence deprived the girls of lessons in arithmetic, geography and grammar. [163] Thus while sewing was compulsory for

girls, and attracted a government grant, there was resistance, from female pupils, their parents and their teachers, to the stress placed on it by the educational authorities.

Moreover, schools were not always able to accommodate sewing. The master of Tullibardine Public School recorded in 1877 that with 50 girls on the school roll, it was almost impossible to teach them sewing while the other work of the school went on. [164] Moreover, if the school was run by a schoolmistress who was expected to teach sewing as part of her duties, then the boys' education might suffer. As the schoolmistress of Stormontfield Public School reported in 1896: 'have no time for the boys' "elementary science" owing to the girls requiring attention while doing specimens of sewing'. This same teacher had recorded three years earlier that she had cancelled the sewing class because the majority of the girls were absent, and instead given the boys an extra grammar lesson. There is no mention of the few girls who were present, nor indeed on either occasion of what the boys would do while the girls were at sewing, though she recorded in another entry that the boys got extra drill in music while the girls were sewing. [165]

Cookery was not unwelcomed by teachers, but resources were sparse. As pointed out earlier, rural areas were more likely to resist the introduction of cookery because of the expense involved, both to schools and the parents. Like sewing, cookery was experienced as another interference in the ordinary work of the school. Thus the entry in the Dunning Public School log book for the week ending 16 November 1894 recorded that giving cookery to a few girls (12) chosen from the lVth to the Ex-Vlth Standards disrupted the drawing classes and therefore endangered the grant. [166] This school seems to have been more concerned with the grant, than with the girls, whereas both the Aberdeen and Edinburgh School Boards complained about girls not being eligible for drawing grants unless cookery was on offer. In practice, cookery was taught in very few schools in Perthshire, and for the most part only at the very end of the century. Thus while cookery classes were begun at Dron Public School in 1893, it was not until December 1898 that they were introduced into the school at Drumour. [167]

Like sewing, cookery was intended for girls only. Ironically, there was much less expense involved in teaching traditionally masculine subjects, such as Latin and mathematics which were occasionally open to girls. Indeed, while

science was intended for boys only, some girls were given the opportunity to study botany: for example, at Moneydie Public School in January 1880, botany was offered to girls and boys from the lVth to the Ex-Vlth Standards, though by 1883 only girls who had passed the three stages of domestic economy were eligible to take botany. [168] Another subject which was aimed at the boys, book-keeping, was also sometimes offered to girls: for example, at Fortingall Public School some Ex-Vlth Standard girls were reported in January 1883 to be doing well in book-keeping and sewing. [169] Finally, although agriculture was a subject which was generally aimed at boys, the HMI report of June 1892 for Glendoick Public School noted that of the six pupils presented in agriculture, two were girls 'for whom' the Inspector opined, 'the subject was not invented'. [170] Thus, while the educational authorities sought to impose a gender-specific curriculum, local studies such as this reveal considerable variation, and indeed informal negotiation between teachers, parents and pupils.

It is possible, however, that the division into masculine and feminine subjects hardened by the turn of the century. The log book for Moneydie Public School contained an undated sewing scheme which, from the appearance of a proposed scheme for supplementary classes written into the log, appears to have been inserted by the teacher of the school in the early twentieth century, possibly around 1911. Unlike the earlier instances of boys taking 'girls' subjects' and vice versa, the curriculum seemed more rigidly gender specific. [171]

In the log books for the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the teachers in Perthshire seemed to measure the sexes against each other, and while generally it was recorded that the boys were performing better (from relatively better attendance, perhaps), occasionally the girls outshone the boys. One teacher decided to reverse that situation: 'Made a rule to punish the boys who allow two divisions of girls to get above them'. [172] It took three years for the boys to excel the girls at arithmetic.

If we consider further the reason why girls more than boys were required at home - to allow their mothers to work in the fields - on the one hand, the sexual division of labour in the home was confirmed but, on the other hand, that division outside the home may have been undermined. Certainly, men and women may have done different tasks in the fields - it was rare indeed for a woman to work

the plough, for example. However, an account of the life of a hired woman in Perthshire in the 1850s shows how flexible, for the woman at least, the sexual division of labour was on the farms, a flexibility which effectively doubled her work load. Whereas a man would not be expected to work at housework, a woman would be expected to work in the fields, in addition to her indoor work.

> On most farms where two or more servants are kept, one of them is generally engaged to act as housemaid, her duty being to attend to indoor matters; and the others are employed to work on the farm - that is, to labour at almost anything the men are employed at, with the exception of holding the plough. These latter work on the dunghill, at filling, mixing or bundling straw; besides they drive carts, roller and brake, or pull and cart turnips in all sorts of weather in the winter time; and on farms where only one is kept, she must try her hand at all kinds of labour, outside as well as inside. [173]

The Perthshire log books tell us that boys and girls also worked mostly at the same tasks in the fields, though they highlight jobs which seemed restricted to the boys: serving as beaters for the gamekeeper, caddying for golfers.

4.5: Conclusion

This chapter has shown that, outwith as well as within the industrial central belt, while parents might have been willing and often anxious to send their children to school, and while children themselves sought to improve their education despite the demands of work, it was the needs of the family which came first. Schoolmasters and mistresses struggled to impart more than the elementary branches of education, though they faced more obstacles in the Highlands than elsewhere. It was possible for a lass as well as a lad of parts, to progress to the higher branches, especially towards the end of the century, though again the chances of doing so, especially for girls, were slimmer in the Highlands than elsewhere. The logs do not allow a firm conclusion as to whether their chances were equal, though the factor of a girl's additional domestic responsibilities would

suggest that they were not. There were certainly differences between the schooling of boys and girls, as demanded by the government and influenced by prevailing notions of domesticity, as well as by the limited job opportunities available to women. Yet poverty and the continuing importance of agriculture meant that older girls and boys outside the central belt shared a common experience of outdoor labour for much of the year, and only a brief season (the winter quarter especially) in school, though generally boys were more likely to return than girls.

It was not only prolonged absence from school which limited the scope of education. In contrast to the size of the Glasgow School Board, and indeed of Glasgow's schools, the majority of Boards and schools in the country districts and especially the Highlands served small communities. Resources were limited, reflected in the late introduction of cookery into a few schools only, and then generally in urban centres such as Inverness or Perth. The latter in some ways resembled its Tayside neighbour, Dundee, in contending with a high rate of absenteeism. Whereas in Dundee, the demands of millowners often took precedence over the demands of teachers, in rural counties, particularly in the Highlands, it was the needs of the farming and crofting economy which dictated school attendance. For all the criticisms of the half-time system which was so prevalent in Dundee, fieldwork in Perthshire appears to have meant prolonged absences from school. In Dundee, teachers struggled to progress with half-timers, and to cope with a mixed class of full and half-timers. In country districts, teachers were often forced to revise what had been taught months earlier, after whole terms of absence. As a result, the curriculum was generally limited to the basics, which implies a certain equality in the experience of girls and boys.

Yet while few Specific Subjects were taught in both Dundee and Perthshire schools, the impression from the log books is that the teachers in Perthshire at least remained within the tradition of the parish dominie, teaching the higher branches whenever possible. It may have been the small size of the village schools and the frequent absences of the older pupils which prompted teachers to offer such traditionally masculine subjects as Latin, mathematics and agriculture to girls as well as boys. What is interesting is that not only school-masters taught those subjects, but also very occasionally schoolmistresses, while

again occasionally schoolmasters taught domestic economy. No boy appears to have been offered domestic economy, but boys were taught sewing and knitting in some schools, which might relate to the local economy.

The School Board minute books and the school log books of Perthshire and of Aberdeen do not reflect the problems of immigration and sectarianism experienced in central and west Scotland. Perth was a 'gateway' to the Highlands, but like Aberdeen it lacked the industry to attract migrant workers in large numbers. A few teachers recorded concern about the Gaelic language inhibiting educational progress, which seems to have been the case for girls in particular, and logs show that its use in the playground as well as in the classroom was discouraged. [174] Of course historically, the role of the teacher in Gaelic-speaking areas had been to integrate them into the national community by inculcating the English language. The survival of Gaelic culture, therefore, depended on the home. The logs, however, do not provide any evidence for the central role of women in preserving Gaelic culture. [175] What they show is that female as well as male teachers discouraged Gaelic, perhaps not surprisingly since they served a system of education which stressed literacy in the English language.

In *Girls in their Prime*, Fiona Paterson and Judith Fewell contended that the pressure of Victorian beliefs meant that the ideal of female domesticity was 'implicated in the gendering of education in Scotland, just as in England'. [176] Moreover, gender differences in education were championed by late nineteenth-century feminists as a means of providing middle-class single women with career opportunities which men could not claim. The evidence from the Perthshire schools, and indeed for the Highlands and rural areas in general, qualifies these generalisations. The School Board minute books reveal a complete absence of women, in contrast to the Glasgow and Edinburgh School Boards, though as noted in the previous chapter, a local newspaper, *The Dundee Advertiser*, had in 1873 called for women to stand and be elected to the new School Boards, arguing that the influence of a lady was necessary for the good of the girls as 'who should know better the girls' educational needs than those who have themselves been girls?' [177] No such reason was given for electing men to School Boards: they were assumed to be able to attend to the general business, despite the fact that

Flora Stevenson's service on eleven consecutive Edinburgh Boards had shown women were capable of being involved in more than the domestic subjects.

In addition, apart from sewing, knitting, and domestic economy, there was little in the Perthshire and Highland school logs which related to the ideal of domesticity. Indeed, as in the central belt, schoolmistresses often resented the attention paid to sewing in the girls' curriculum, at least where the Board school was co-educational, while there was considerable resistance from parents, unless the sewing was seen to be useful to the family. The lack of resistance to knitting underlines this point: stocking-knitting had been a predominantly female handicraft, though one which had been overtaken by industrialisation earlier in the century. Nevertheless, the lack of opposition to knitting implies that it was still regarded as of use to the family, even if it no longer attracted the high rate of women's wages which it had done in the late eighteenth century. [178]

As pointed out in the previous chapter, *Girls in their Prime* sees the tradition of co-education as discriminating against women, identifying a strong strain of machismo in Scottish culture permeating the educational ideal. Yet again, the Perthshire school experience tempers that generalisation. Co-education, which in larger urban centres such as Glasgow might more accurately be termed mixed schooling, seems to have been the norm in Perthshire and indeed throughout the country districts of Scotland. Even when girls and not boys were taught sewing and knitting, the boys were often in the same room, sometimes 'entertaining' the girls by reading to them. Certainly, a study of the school textbooks used might reveal a 'hidden curriculum' inculcating gender differences. Yet that might well be offset by the fact that both sexes did field work, and few, boys or girls, could expect their experience of school to have much influence on their future job prospects.

Children of both sexes in late nineteenth-century Perthshire, as throughout the Highlands, were severely constrained by poverty. The national educational ideal was that schools should be open to all, regardless of wealth or status. The increasing numbers of advertisements in local newspapers for governesses, and for schools, academies and colleges for 'young ladies' not only in Edinburgh and Glasgow, but also in Dundee and Perth, indicate a market for the education of middle-class girls separate both from boys and from working-class girls. These

establishments often advertised that the best instruction from qualified masters was available, while other institutions continued the tradition of mixed education. For example, Perth Academy was intended to provide a liberal education for both girls and boys. However, the curriculum was tailored to what were perceived as the natural differences between the sexes. [179] Even more was this the case in the curriculum of Board schools where girls had to be taught sewing if the school was to be eligible for a grant, and where domestic economy had to be studied by any girl taking Specific Subjects.

Of the four cities, the School Boards of Glasgow and Edinburgh were the most active in trying to ensure regular attendance, of girls as well as boys, though throughout Scotland it was accepted, by parents and the educational authorities alike, that older girls would take some time off for 'home work'. In both Glasgow and Edinburgh, the female Board members, with the exception of Flora Stevenson, concentrated their efforts on the girls' industrial department to a degree unknown in either Aberdeen or Dundee, or the country districts. Women who championed cookery lessons for working-class girls in Glasgow, moreover, tried to spread their influence as far south as Dumfries, whereas ladies in Inverness took the initiative by inviting trained cookery teachers to give demonstration lessons to the public; but the audience was limited to urban centres, and while working-class women were targeted, newspaper articles give the impression that attendance was mainly middle-class.

Educational authorities, middle-class feminists and the churches all considered that the working class in general, and the poor of the Highlands and Islands in particular, were in need of civilising, and that the influence of ladies, whether on School Boards, as teachers (who will be discussed in the next chapter), or as visitors, was especially essential for the girls. Edinburgh School Board set great store by the latter, who were deemed 'Lady Managers' and charged with giving special supervision to the Industrial Department of the schools. As a rule, three were appointed to each school. They were expected to visit once a week during the hours of sewing instruction, and also 'to use their influence to encourage gentleness of manner and tidiness in the children and to see that the school premises are kept by the Janitor to their satisfaction'. In the report for the period 1888 to 1891, it was noted that the Board had impressed on

the Lady Managers 'the necessity of urging the Sewing Mistresses to exercise the strictest economy in the cutting out of material, and have likewise requested them to take an interest in the cookery instruction'. [180] Thus, they were to make sure that the inculcation of domestic skills and of modest behaviour in girls was cost effective. Yet, as both this chapter and the previous one have shown, urban schools were in a better position than rural ones to provide such instruction, and even where the teacher in the latter was female (another cost-effective measure) it was not always possible for her to give the attention to sewing which was expected by the authorities. Hence, because there were fewer resources in the country districts, and most notably in the Highlands and Islands, there was less emphasis on domestic subjects than in the cities. Certainly, throughout Scotland, the ideology of separate spheres helped shape the curriculum of and attitudes towards female and male pupils, but more overtly in the case of the girls. However, in country districts, that ideology did not reflect the home situation of the pupils where notions of public and private did not apply. Of course, girls had domestic responsibilities which generally were not demanded of boys, since the former were expected to help, and sometimes substitute for, mothers on a regular and frequent basis. Ironically, this often meant that girls were absent for domestic reasons, when their social superiors as well as the educational authorities were convinced that only in the Board schools could girls receive a training which would fit them for their future as housewives and mothers.

By the end of the century, girls' education in general had improved, while talented girls as well as boys from the Board schools were being encouraged to aim for university, though whereas the latter actually attended, the girls were more likely to sit a University's local examinations, at least before 1894.The tiny minority of girls from the rural districts, in both Lowlands and Highlands, who benefited from the meritocratic tradition faced a more strictly defined sexual division of labour in the professions than their counterparts did in the fields. That conclusion is not intended to diminish their achievement, which given their circumstances and the male-dominated nature of the education system was prodigious.

Chapter 5

Intellectual Instruction is Best Left to a Man: the Interaction of Gender, Class and Nationality in the Teaching Profession in Nineteenth-Century Scotland

This chapter builds on the work of Helen Corr concerning the gendered division of labour in the Scottish teaching profession. However, whereas Corr's focus is almost exclusively on the patriarchal nature of Scottish society, the analysis here centres on the complex interaction of gender, class and nationality. As discussed in the first chapter, the nineteenth century saw a crisis of national identity in Scotland, reflected in widespread fears for what was essentially a masculine myth of the 'democratic intellect' which, Corr argues, excluded women because of the peculiarly patriarchal nature of Scottish Presbyterianism. The debate on the state of education in Scotland, and fears for what were regarded as inferior English practices, led to a strong defence of the male-dominated profession, which by the end of the nineteenth century had become feminised in numbers only. Yet, as will be argued below, although in a subordinate position, the Scottish schoolmistress considered herself to be an essential part of the teaching profession, a partner, albeit junior, in preserving the traditional educational ideal of universality and meritocracy. Did that make her, as Corr suggests, an accomplice to presbyterian patriarchy?

5.1: The Masculine Tradition

As discussed in chapter one, George Lewis had posited a decline in the national tradition of education in his polemical pamphlet *Scotland, a Half-Educated Nation* (1834). In that tradition, which it was claimed could be traced back to the Reformation in the sixteenth century, great importance had been placed on the appointment of the teacher. The ideal was of universality of attendance (with the parish schools open to all classes and both sexes), and teaching by a university graduate, or at least a man who had studied at university. Whereas in England elementary education was designed for the lower classes, the Scottish parish school was intended to serve the community as a whole, and was expected to offer all children the opportunity of education beyond the elementary. The Scots never

accepted the English view that there was a separate, low-level schooling in the '3Rs' suitable for the poorer classes, or that anything beyond minimal literacy would encourage the spread of subversive ideas. On the contrary, mass schooling would serve as a means of social control, while allowing the country to benefit from the talented individual.

Thus, while both sexes were taught in the mixed parish schools, the Scottish tradition of education was male-centred, revolving around the talented boy (the lad of parts) and the male graduate teacher (the dominie). As pointed out in chapter one, Lewis wrote his pamphlet at a time when the long-established national system of parochial schools seemed to be collapsing under the strains of industrialisation, urbanisation and immigration, as well as growing divisions within Presbyterianism. Such pressures threatened the traditionally high status of teaching in Scotland. Parochial school teachers had, recognised by law, a guarantee of a basic income (plus fees), accommodation, and security of tenure. Until 1839, and the first government inspectors, the presbyteries were empowered to test schoolteachers before they began their work, and to inspect schools regularly to ensure that the teaching was satisfactory. In practice, it was a protracted process to dismiss a dominie. In addition, the earliest Scottish inspectors were almost all teachers, reflecting the high regard in which the profession was held. [1] This was not so in England, where teachers were not considered to be of sufficient social standing to mix with managers and clergy. As a speaker at a public meeting held to debate the proposed Education Bill in Glasgow in December 1871 insisted, the Scottish teacher was a professional who should be judged by his peers and not placed 'at the mercy of a Board, who from their previous training, are unable to judge as to his professional conduct and qualifications'. [2]

As discussed in chapter one, the Union with England did not subsume Scottish identity into a wider British identity but resulted in a concentric loyalty. By the nineteenth century, however, under the pressures of rapid economic change and of dissension within the established church, there seemed to be a crisis of Scottish identity, reflected in the pre-occupation with educational issues, and notably with the status of teachers. Education was seen as a key agent in preserving that identity, which meant resisting anglicisation. The latter was presumed to include lower standards in terms of curriculum, teaching, social divisiveness and the female

numerical domination of elementary schooling.

Certainly, women in the family were seen as the domestic keepers of national culture; however, at least initially, women in the schools were regarded with more ambivalence in Scotland. The increase in female, and consequently non-graduate, teachers was seen as narrowing the education of the poor to the elementary branches, an English practice, and as undermining national harmony. Yet the traditional system could not cope with the growing demands on it - hence Lewis's fear of a half-educated nation. He was secretary to the Glasgow Educational Society (founded in 1834) which encouraged teacher training (developing since the 1820s); and that in turn widened the opportunities for women to enter the profession. However, certificated teachers were seen as being of inferior status to the university educated dominie: the former was trained, the latter intellectually educated. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Scots resisted, or modified, government efforts to apply English practices such as the pupil-teacher system and payment by results. The former especially allowed women to enter the profession. Given the concern over anglicisation, however, and the association of elementary schooling with female teachers, the growing numbers of schoolmistresses in Scotland brought fears of a lowering of educational standards for the nation and of the status of the profession. Demographic changes had resulted in an urgent need for more teachers; but rather than adopt the English elementary school practice, women teachers were deemed to be particularly suitable mainly for infant education. Thus the schoolmaster would preserve his status by retaining control of the higher branches of learning, and of the position of headteacher.

As discussed in chapter two, the Argyll Commission which investigated the condition of Scottish education, including teacher training, in the mid 1860s, believed that schooling in the advanced department should be left to the male graduate, continuing the tradition of the parish dominie. While recognising the importance of teacher training, the Commission saw that, without the general culture gained from time at university, Scottish schooling would be reduced to the English notion of elementary education. [3] All teachers should hold a certificate of competency, but more was necessary for schoolmasters. Whereas the Committee of Council would continue to examine all schoolmistresses, the Commission advocated that a common standard be fixed by the Board and the Committee to which the university examinees

would have to conform. [4]

The dominie was integral to Lowland Presbyterian culture, and while the educational ideal was universality, as the previous chapters have shown, the reality was inequality in terms of region, religion, class and gender. In Protestant schools, at least before the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, girls were generally less likely to be sent to, or kept on at, school than boys. In the Highlands, where there were few parish schools, girls were even less likely to have the same experience of schooling as boys. In addition, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) was active from the eighteenth century in not only trying to raise the educational standards but to 'civilise' what was regarded as a more backward society. In contrast, to the parish schools, the SSPCK favoured female teachers, largely because they were cheaper to employ, earning around a third of the male salary. Thus, in 1867, it was suggested by an Inspector of one Highland Parish (Balintore) that:

> seeing that there are so many schools within easy access might not the two salaries at present paid by the Society [to the male teacher and the sewing mistress] be exchanged for one by placing the school under a trained Mistress? [5]

As noted in chapter two, the Argyll Commission had also been concerned with getting value for money. Employing more women would certainly cut costs, especially as they could teach not only the 3Rs, but also domestic subjects. Yet while recognising the centrality of the schoolmistress for English elementary education, it was felt that in Scotland, she was especially suitable for those areas which had difficulty attracting men: rural areas in general, the Highlands and Islands in particular. [6] The appointment of schoolmistresses at a moderate salary was thus advocated in remote districts with a small population. [7] The implication was that an English type of elementary education was not only sufficient for the Highlands and Islands, but might be seen as an improvement, since the schoolmistress was trained. There was some admiration for the professional competence of the female teacher. [8] At the same time, the expectation that the schoolmistress would cover the infant and female industrial departments ensured that, in the more populated and urban areas, the schoolmaster would be free to concentrate on the higher branches of learning, and so

preserve the 'democratic intellect'. [9]

Nevertheless, there was widespread fear in Scotland that the education bill which was to come out of the Argyll Commission's reports would result in the demise of the parish schools and the imposition of an English elementary system. In his pamphlet of 1869, *National Education in Scotland*, W. Hay expressed the fear that parish schools would effectively be abolished by being lowered to the level of 'primary' (that is, elementary) schools, in which the social classes would be segregated and the opportunity of further education for the bright but poor lad would be removed. [10] Not only did he fail to consider the impact on working-class girls in Scotland, he believed that such elementary schools would not attract 'men of education' as teachers. Hay made no mention of female teachers, but the implication was that they reflected that decline in professional standards, from the intellectually educated to the mechanically trained, which he saw as an unwelcome anglicising attack on the Scottish tradition in education.

Hay's main concern was the loss of Presbyterian control over education if religious instruction was excluded from the curriculum of the proposed Board system. When the Bill was passed in 1872, religious instruction was included, though parents had the right to withdraw their children. As seen in the first chapter, the Irish Catholic immigrants, mainly concentrated in the Lowlands, remained outside the national education system and developed their own schools, where generalised poverty meant irregular attendance, for boys as well as girls. It also meant from 1848 a heavy reliance on uncertificated teachers and on pupil teachers, mostly female, which was seen as undermining the Scottish tradition of a graduate, and male, profession. [11]

While the democratic intellect was masculine, education in nineteenth-century Scotland, as in the rest of Britain, was influenced by the Victorian ideal of female domesticity, and by the growing influence of eugenicist ideas which pressed for more of the curriculum in working-class girls' schools to be given over to domestic subjects. Nevertheless, as discussed in the previous chapters, there was considerable parental resistance among the Scottish poor to their daughters being taught domestic subjects at school. The parents did not challenge the notion of separate spheres for the sexes. Instead, they believed that domesticity should be learned in the home, with the daughters as the apprentices of their mothers. [12] This sentiment was replicated in the Highlands. Thus, to return to the example noted in chapter two, an Inspector for the

SSPCK noted in 1867 that in one parish where the schoolmaster's sister was the sewing mistress, parents preferred their daughters to concentrate on academic subjects, so that none had attended the industrial department for two weeks. [13] Besides seeing the school as for book learning for girls as well as for boys, there may have been an element of class resentment in this attitude. In 1859, an inspector recorded that:

> there is a very foolish prejudice among mothers against allowing their children to take a share in scrubbing the school floor in the way of a lesson. They hold that they do not send their girls to be servants to the schoolmistress, but to learn their lessons, and other objections of a similar nature. In another place the mothers expected that their girls were to get pay for their needlework.

Another inspector regretted that 'it is not easy to persuade mothers that their girls can find better instruction in housework than they do at home, and in their employers' service'. [14] What of the schoolmistresses (as distinct from the sewing mistress)? Their attitude to having to teach sewing is generally not examined. Yet here too there was some resentment, and occasional resistance. Thus, in 1878, a Glasgow teacher, Miss Janet Anderson, was found by her headmaster to have 'altogether neglected the teaching of needlework to the female pupil teachers, which had been entrusted to her care'. [15] Despite her reluctance to teach what was regarded as an essential feminine skill (and a subject which earned a government grant), it was the headteacher who failed in his efforts to discipline her, and left the school, while she remained. What finally secured her removal was marriage in June 1883. In Glasgow, there was no place in the profession for married women, despite the absence of any statutory requirement for female teachers to give up their careers on marriage.

Yet Scottish feminists in the late nineteenth century championed gender differences in education as a means of providing middle-class single women with career opportunities, especially in domestic science, which men could not claim, and which would bring the woman teacher both status and influence in public life. [16] Ironically, the ambitious Scottish woman had to seek promotion in England, with its tradition of separate schools for the sexes. Thus, the Scottish egalitarian tradition,

reflected in its mixed sex parish schools, served to circumscribe the woman teacher, since the head teacher was always a man. Ironically too, it was in Scottish Catholic schools, which tended where possible to be single sex, that women were headteachers. However, since there was no Catholic teacher training college in Scotland until 1895 - when Notre Dame College in Glasgow was opened, which was unique in having a female principal, Sister Mary of Wilfred - these posts were filled again where possible by certificated teachers from English colleges, notably in Liverpool. Moreover, they were subordinate to the Reverend Manager, who would make frequent, often daily, visits. Even at the end of the century, however, Catholic schools remained dependent on uncertificated and pupil teachers, the vast majority of whom were female. Again, a narrow curriculum, and low standards of education, but especially of teaching, were associated with women teachers. Indeed, even the certificated teachers in Catholic schools were not seen to measure up to the Scottish ideal. As noted in chapter three, an HMI report in 1891 praised the progress which had been made in Catholic schools over the past few years, above all in the education of the younger children. Nevertheless, the Inspector was of the opinion that there could be no similar progress with the older pupils, whose education would remain considerably inferior to what was available in Board schools. He acknowledged the commitment of both teachers (the vast majority of whom were women) and managers, and the strides they had made in conditions of such poverty; but he pointed to the 'intellectual defects' of the majority of staff who had neither received 'a regular and thorough training', nor enjoyed the advantage afforded by study at university. [17] The establishment of Notre Dame College and the opening of Scottish universities to women in the early 1890s, however, held out the potential for improvement in both qualifications of Catholic women teachers and standards of Catholic education.

5.2: Women in a Masculine Profession

Helen Corr has pioneered the study of female teachers and the feminisation of the Scottish teaching profession. [18] Alongside the latter, she sees the development of a gendered division of labour, manifested in the training of teachers, the content of the curriculum, and the range of academic and non-academic subjects which were expected of women teachers, and which confined them to the elementary level. Corr's

focus on the feminisation of the profession in Scotland, which she sees as paralleling, though at a later stage, the English experience, is useful in uncovering the gender blindness of previous studies of Scottish teaching. It is also, however, rather narrow an approach in that, by concentrating almost exclusively on patriarchy, it overlooks the peculiar interaction of nationality with gender in Scotland. The point here is not simply to poke holes in Helen Corr's work, but rather to build on it, to ask further questions and consider the levels of complexity in the relationship between the teaching profession, the process of feminisation, and the ideology of patriarchy.

Corr assumes a symmetry between the Scottish and English experiences of feminisation. Indeed, in her contribution to the 1998 collection, *Image and Identity: The Making and Remaking of Scotland Through the Ages*, Corr seems to imply an equation between the later process of feminisation of the Scottish teaching profession, compared to England, with a later development of feminism, based on an assumption about the more rigidly patriarchal nature of Scottish Presbyterianism. [19] Yet beyond assuming that the latter was peculiarly patriarchal,which will be examined below, she does not seriously question Scottish identity in the nineteenth century, while she underestimates the dynamic relationship between gender and social class, and indeed between gender and religion, themes which will also be returned to below. Moreover, if the process of feminisation is placed within the context of the 'half-educated nation', what emerges is the influence of the crisis of national identity on the 'late' feminisation of the Scottish teaching profession. What is highlighted is not simply the apparently marginal role which women were accorded in such a key national institution, in what was essentially a masculine myth of the democratic intellect. Rather, the process of feminisation of the teaching profession in Scotland reveals an interaction between nationality and gender which was mediated by social class in a way which differed distinctly from the English experience.

Until the mid nineteenth century, the Scottish parish schools were almost entirely run by men. The tradition that only someone who had a university education could aspire to the position of parish school teacher precluded women since they were excluded from university degrees until the 1890s. Women teachers were in the less prestigious adventure and private girls' schools. While the male graduate was always seen as superior to the certificated female teacher who was regarded as lacking in the serious and civilised learning of the traditional dominie, the development of teacher

training from the 1820s nevertheless provided women with a point of entry into what had been an exclusively male profession. Then, from 1861, women could be appointed as sewing mistresses, so that even before the 1872 Education Act increasing numbers were entering the profession. In the case of inspected schools, the numbers of certificated male teachers increased from 858 in 1860 to 1667 in 1870; the corresponding increase in certificated female teachers in the same decade was from 362 to 819. Moreover, the percentage increase in the number of male pupil teachers was 23, but of females, 84. [20]

The moving force behind the development of normal schools in Scotland was David Stow who, in 1827, had established the Glasgow Infant School Society. The term 'normal' was adapted from France, and referred to the norm or pattern of teaching. In 1841, two normal schools were recognised (in Edinburgh and Glasgow) and received state support. Two years later, there was a split in the Church of Scotland - the 1843 Disruption - whose effect on teacher training was to double the number of normal schools, as the new Free Church of Scotland sought to rival the established church. Both aimed to preserve not only church control of education, but also the scholarly traditions of the parish schools by keeping Latin in the curriculum for male students. The normal schools, like the parish schools, were co-educational or mixed-sex, but women students were, according to Marjorie Cruikshank, very much 'on the fringe and were ineligible for Church bursaries'. [21] Indeed in 1855, an inspector had noted that in Glasgow;

> the female students, unlike the greater part of the male, are without bursary from the managers of the National Institution: it is usual for them to depend on friends or patrons for the whole benefit of being placed there. [22]

Given Stow's notion that infant schools should resemble a family, and the general belief in the woman/mother as the first educator, infant teaching immediately became a female preserve. In the light of the narrow range of education in infant schools, the curriculum of the female normal schools was similarly restricted. Thus, Corr holds that the entry of women into teaching was accomplished by the formulation and construction of gender roles based on the dominant ideology of women in their traditional role in the home as wife and mother. Yet it was not until the introduction

of the English inspired pupil-teacher system in 1846 that formal distinctions according to gender were inscribed in the normal school syllabus. The female syllabus included domestic economy, needlework, French and botany as well as English language and literature. The male syllabus included English language and literature, along with Latin, mathematics, algebra, physiology, geology and Greek. [23]

Both the pupil-teacher system and the normal schools allowed women schoolteachers to become more common in Scotland than they had been previously. One inspector reported in 1851 that:

> in many places the girls are kept longer at school than the boys, and there may be a disposition to prefer them as pupil-teachers, and so create a greater number of female teachers than are likely to find remunerative employment in Scotland. [24]

The pupil-teacher system, moreover, was greatly resented in Scotland, being seen as an alien English imposition, undermining the traditional link between universities and schools, and narrowing the scope of education in the latter. Yet schools increasingly depended on pupil teachers and girls were attracted to the position because it paid relatively well compared to the rather limited range of poorly paid jobs open to them. Again, they were seen as especially effective with the younger children. Indeed, schoolmistresses were believed to be much less successful with older pupils than schoolmasters, as will be discussed below. [25]

Pupil teachers, both male and female, followed a five-year apprenticeship between 13 and 18 years of age. They taught, received instruction from the teacher, and were examined annually by inspectors. At 18, the pupil teachers could compete for Queen's scholarships, tenable at the normal schools. Whether a pupil teacher or a Queen's scholar, women were paid around two-thirds of what their male counterparts received. Nevertheless, in Scotland such remuneration was relatively high for females. There was also a social class difference: the men tended to be from a lower class than the women. Indeed, the aim was to attract young ladies, so that they might act as a civilising force on their working-class charges at an early stage. [26] In 1859, the inspector of the Church of Scotland Normal College in Glasgow reported that:

> the self-supporting students are nearly all females; and the reasons of their number so far exceeding that of males on the same footing seem to be, that in general they are from a better condition in life, and so are more able to find the means of education for themselves; and that teaching is to them a more remunerating and otherwise more desirable employment, than any other which they can readily obtain. [27]

At first, women were in a minority at the normal schools. In 1851, 65 per cent of Scottish teachers were male, 35 per cent female; but by 1911, the positions were reversed, with 30 per cent male and 70 per cent female. [28] However, there was a general belief among Scottish educationalists that while normal school training was necessary for women, it was insufficient for men, who still needed experience of university education, a view paralleled by the general consensus that female teachers were most suited to infant teaching and men to the older children. Thus in the reports for 1851, one inspector commented:

> There are various ways in which the services of a female teacher are peculiarly valuable. Her patient attentions to the very young, and the influence of her example on the elder girls are of the greatest importance. But I have scarcely ever found that, when the intellectual instruction of the older pupils is committed to her, it is conducted as successfully as it would have been under a competent master. ... I am, therefore, strongly disposed to prefer the plan by which, under one management, the care of the infant department, and perhaps some of the younger classes in the juvenile school, are intrusted, along with the industrial training of the older girls, to the female teacher, while the scholars receive their literary and intellectual instruction from a master.

The inspector believed that this was the way to 'best secure the intellectual cultivation of the pupils, in combination with habits of feminine propriety'. [29] As the number of female teachers grew, it was argued that 'the teaching of elementary subjects is a task much more congenial to a woman than a brawny man'. [30]

The 1872 Education Act did not change the system of teacher training which was left to the churches, notably the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland

and the Episcopalian Church. The term 'training college' replaced that of 'normal school'. [31] To meet the demands of the new public, or Board schools, more colleges were opened. Both Presbyterian churches established small colleges in Aberdeen, while even before the Act the Episcopal Church had opted to train women rather than men, reflecting the dearth of male applicants. An inspector of Episcopal Church schools had noted in 1859 that:

> Our pupil teachers at the close of their apprenticeship leave Scotland, for the English training college, no girls' training college in connection with the Scottish Episcopal Church, and under Government inspection, being yet established in the country. At the end of their two years' residence the large majority of these young persons prefer to find English appointments. [32]

Even when that gap was remedied, after 1872 School Boards seemed reluctant to employ Episcopalian trained teachers, and since there were few Episcopalian schools in Scotland they generally went to England. [33] The other colleges expanded. As in the Board schools, these were nominally co-educational, but in practice women and men were taught separately. As before the Act, salaries differed, with women earning around three-quarters of men's salaries. However, since men in Board schools could become headteachers, their earnings generally outstripped women's by a greater proportion, so that in 1878 the average female salary was scarcely more than half that of the male. [34] Indeed, the gap widened. In 1899, the average male teacher's salary was £143, 7s,9d; the average female salary was £69, 19s, 7d. [35]

Still, while women were debarred from the higher and better paid posts in Board schools, there was another source of income for schoolmistresses, which was that part of the government grant allocated for the training of pupil teachers, given to the teacher responsible for them. Male teachers gained very little from this source, because there were many more female pupil teachers than male, and because the Scotch Code laid down that pupil teachers must:

> be of the same sex as the certificated teacher under whom they serve, but in a mixed school may serve under a master, and may receive instructions from him out of school hours, on condition that some respectable woman, approved

> by the managers, be invariably present during the whole time that such instruction is given.[36]

Moreover, with the increasing belief in the later nineteenth century in the need to teach girls domestic subjects - sewing, knitting and later domestic economy, cookery, and laundry - female teacher trainees also had to study housecraft. While feminists lobbied for professional recognition of female teachers of domestic subjects, male Scottish educationalists were disturbed by such a heavy emphasis on domesticity which was believed to have a deleterious effect on girls' education:

> Female pupil teachers are more generally deficient in grammar and in arithmetic than the boys, not merely because these subjects may be considered as naturally somewhat more difficult for them, but partly also because, with the attention which they must pay to the industrial department, they have less time for these lessons, and their teacher also is not infrequently less effective here than she is in other departments.[37]

Yet it was also recognised that women could perform a useful and necessary feminine task as teachers. From the 1870s, there was a growing movement to introduce domestic subjects for girls into the Board schools in Scotland, as well as in England. Female class teachers were already expected to instruct the girls in industrial subjects, above all needlework. The domestic science movement, however, stressed the need for specially trained cookery teachers. The first school of cookery was opened in London on 6 November 1873. Two years later, two schools were opened in Scotland, one in Edinburgh and one in Glasgow. In the latter, daytime courses for ladies were held to defray the cost of the evening classes designed for working-class women. By 1877, however, it was clear that the schools were not attracting enough working-class women even when the classes were offered free of charge. It was then decided to reach the working class through its daughters in the Board schools, by training domestic science teachers.

The preface to a book of recipes, referred to in chapter one, illustrates how crucial this task was seen by the middle classes. Published in 1889, it was based on a course of domestic economy classes which had been provided and organised in

Govan for working-class women. The teacher and author, Martha Gordon, was a graduate of the Northern Training School of Cookery, holding a first class diploma. She wrote that it was a matter of great regret that so many girls left school before the fifth standard, and therefore had received no lessons in domestic economy. Hence the aim of her book was to 'help working men's wives to provide thoroughly good and nutritious food for their families at the smallest possible cost'. She reflected the fear that the nation's health was suffering from their ignorance:

> How many homes would be healthier, brighter and happier if our women could only be brought to see how much depends on *them*, and bestir themselves in the matter. ... A working-man's wife who studies economy, and tries by careful cooking to get all the nourishment possible out of food, will be able to feed her family on the tenth of what one who is careless or ignorant, requires. [38]

In practice, such arguments were championed by feminists, and were based as much on social class divisions as on the ideology of separate spheres: lower class girls were to be schooled in domestic skills not for their own advancement, but for the good of their future families, and as a means of providing their social superiors with a respectable career, moral influence and a socially useful, public role. Moreover, spending so much time on non-academic subjects locked working-class girls into a very restricted range of occupations from which only a few could escape by means of the pupil-teacher route. As the discussion on the Argyll Commission in chapter two showed, middle-class girls could be incorporated into the educational tradition, while the lasses of parts among them seemed destined for the teaching profession. It was accepted that middle-class girls should receive an academic education, and that lessons in domestic skills were required only for the working class. Hence, the gendered curriculum was heavily determined by social class. Working-class parental resistance to domestic subjects for their girls was partly resentment at the condescension of their social superiors, and partly a refusal to accept the implied dilution of the 'democratic intellect' as they understood it. As noted above, there was less fear in Scotland than in England of academic, 'intellectual', or secular education for the working classes. Rather, the Scottish belief was that it would strengthen, not

weaken, the social order. However, this notion that an academic education would indirectly strengthen the separate spheres for the sexes by promoting self-improvement and a sense of personal responsibility came into conflict with the feminist emphasis on the domestic sphere in the schooling of working-class girls. [39] Indeed, as the parents feared and many Board teachers complained, the latter resulted in a thinning of the academic content of working-class girls' education. Lindy Moore has shown that in the parish schools before 1872, girls might get Latin and mathematics, while this study of log books since 1872 has revealed that that continued to be the case, notably in Glasgow. However, in the teacher training colleges, the emphasis was on the narrow range of subjects which they would now be expected to teach to working-class girls. Moore concludes that:

> in those areas where the 'parochial' system was working most effectively, the encouragement and emphasis given to female pupils by school inspectors and educational activists, whatever their intentions, combined with the intellectual tradition to increase girls' participation in the higher branches. [40]

It is ironic that, as the educational standards of middle-class girls in particular were rising in the later nineteenth century, and as feminists campaigned for a secondary education equal to that of their male counterparts as well as entry into the Universities, middle-class women were demanding a more domestically orientated schooling for their social inferiors. While working-class women resented what they saw as the patronising attitude of these middle-class professionals, the few women on the School Boards tended to champion the cause of the latter. Indeed, in Glasgow two of the female Board members in the late nineteenth century, Grace Paterson and Margaret Black, had both founded cookery schools in the city. Interestingly, most of the female Board members were Unionists, who campaigned under the slogan 'Home Rule for Women', with the aim of raising the status of domestic economy as a subject, and so of the domestic economy teacher, by renaming it domestic science. Helen Corr judges their efforts a failure, and points out that not only were many male Board members satisfied that housecraft was covered by instruction in needlework, but many certificated women teachers regarded the cookery teacher as having inferior status and qualifications. [41] The relationship between gender, class and professional

status will be expanded on below. Here, it might also be argued that the female certificated teachers in Board schools were not simply concerned with status. Their attitudes reflected the Scottish belief in the superiority of an academic to a vocational education, as well as their own aspirations to become an accepted part of the national tradition. As acknowledged in chapter one, while women teachers had a necessary part to play in upholding that tradition, they were expected only to service the ideal of the democratic intellect, never to represent it.

Helen Corr also sees irony in the dynamic role played by an elite group of female educationalists in reinforcing gender divisions in the teaching profession by promoting domestic economy as an academic subject for girls. [42] As this discussion shows, however, it was not the curriculum of schoolgirls in general, but was restricted to Board schools, directed specifically at working-class girls, with the aim of inculcating basic domestic skills rather than raising these girls' academic learning. Certainly, Corr acknowledges that not only was there nothing distinctively Scottish about the campaign to introduce domestic training into Board schools, but rather that it was distinctive to middle-class feminism and had little in common with the values and experiences of working-class women and Board schoolmistresses. [43] Of the home economics movement in the U.S.A. in the same period, Sarah Stage argues that it 'constitutes a classic case of the interplay of politics and domesticity in women's history', that it 'politicised domesticity by urging women to use their skills in "that larger household the city", beginning as part of the broader movement for progressive reform'. [44] For Stage, the context was also the nineteenth-century movement for professionalisation, which was profoundly gendered, largely excluding women. Thus, middle-class, college-educated women:

> developed parallel tracks to career and sought to upgrade, standardise and professionalise the fields in which they worked in an attempt to be competitive for jobs and resources and to gain legitimacy. [45]

To achieve that progress for middle-class women, home economists argued in conventionally gendered terms, and so never escaped gender stereotypes. As in Scotland, home economics in the U.S.A. never won parity of esteem with the male professions, nor, in the nineteenth century at least, with the feminised teaching

profession.

In late nineteenth-century Scotland the desire for professional status for the teaching of domestic economy was seen as a threat to the national tradition of an intellectual curriculum in parish schools. To a considerable degree, that had changed by the turn of the century, under the influence of eugenicist ideas and concerns for the health of the nation/race. Thus, Mrs Carlaw Martin, a member of the Dundee School Board, complained in 1907 that when domestic subjects had first been introduced, they had been looked at 'askance': 'apparently we had to come slowly to an understanding of the educational value of utilitarian subjects, and of the relation of hand-work to the brain development which was assumed to be the teacher's exclusive aim'. [46]

As Carol Dyhouse has pointed out, feminists were, and indeed remain, divided over issues of sex segregation, separate spheres and protected women's spaces. [47] Helen Corr has accepted the complexity in late nineteenth-century feminism, including its implicit belief in the notion of 'different but equal'. [48] It needs to be emphasised, however, how firmly rooted this notion was in social class: middle-class women might be 'different but equal', but they viewed working-class women as their inferiors, however 'united' women were by domesticity. As Dina Copelman has observed of the relationship between gender, class and feminism in London between 1870 and 1930, feminist campaigns for female education were part of a broader trend to consolidate a middle-class identity. The occupations, notably teaching, which women entered secured and strengthened their class status. [49]

Middle-class feminists thus sought to carve out a professional niche for schoolmistresses, and convince their male peers of its worth, based on social class divisions which were shaped by gender assumptions. Since domestic subjects were deemed inappropriate for middle-class girls' education in the nineteenth century, the domestic economy teacher received her training in the discipline after her experience of school, in specially established cookery schools. For her, it was an academic subject which opened up careers, notably in teaching but also, especially by the early twentieth century, in public health. For working-class girls in Board schools, however, no such career ladder was envisaged: domestic economy was simply to impart vocational skills to equip them as housewives. Lindy Moore suggests, though, that in contrast to England, it was not generally seen as a training for domestic service

in Scotland. [50] Such a basic and blatant class distinction in the curricula for girls militated against the national tradition in education, however patriarchal that was. Indeed, it was often resisted by male members of the School Board as well as schoolmistresses as not academic enough.

Central to the 'democratic' tradition in Scottish education was the emphasis on reading, for both sexes. Certainly, a portion of the curriculum was gender-specific, indeed increasingly so after 1872. The desire, however, reflected in the continuing preference for mixed-sex schooling, was to maintain the shared experience of boys and girls in the ordinary branches of the curriculum. It was middle-class reformers, including feminists, who campaigned for a gender-specific curriculum. That this was resisted by schoolmistresses, who resented and often looked down on the socially superior, but in their view professionally inferior, cookery teacher, should not lead us to dismiss the former as being simply complicit in patriarchy. Nor should we simply equate feminist pre-occupations with progress for women, however much the aim was improvements in women's position. Middle-class women sought to improve their career prospects, not by demanding equality with men, but by laying claim to parts of the curriculum which they denied to men. On the one hand, feminists wanted to raise the standing of the domestic sphere; on the other hand, they reinforced the notion of separate spheres so central to patriarchy. Helen Corr draws too stark a distinction between feminists and those who opted to work within the educational tradition. Like Elizabeth Fish, the first female president of the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS), established in 1847 to protect the professional status of teachers, they manoeuvred within the parameters of patriarchy. Corr suggests that middle-class Scottish women benefited from the educational tradition, and so did not challenge it. Yet the majority of female Board teachers did not spring from the middle class - at most some came from the lower middle class - in contrast to the feminists who sought to influence the curriculum in Board schools, sometimes from the vantage point of School Board membership, such as Grace Paterson in Glasgow. While schoolmistresses manoeuvred within the male dominated profession, feminists manipulated the ideology of domesticity and separate spheres. Neither was a position argued from principle, and it seems rather arbitrary to categorise the latter as more progressive for women.

5.3: Patriarchy and the Feminisation of the Teaching Profession

As Helen Corr noted in 1983:

> The changing composition in the sex ratio of teachers during the nineteenth century represented a unique and distinctive feature of the Scottish educational system. Elsewhere in Britain, women teachers already outnumbered their male counterparts and men continued to remain in a minority. [51]

Why was this the case, and indeed why was it unique to Scotland? It was the 1872 Act, often interpreted by the teaching professions as an attempt to anglicise and in the process undermine the Scottish education system, which opened up the teaching profession to women, though not on equal terms with men. Scottish teachers, male and female, tended to be better qualified and educated than their English counterparts, which helps explain the differentials in salaries between the two countries. As Corr suggested 'the higher salaries paid to Scottish schoolmasters was thus perhaps one way of defending their higher professional status and the cultural aspects of the proud Scottish tradition'. [52] Women teachers, however, were consistently paid less than men, whether in rural or urban, Board or Catholic schools. Corr concludes that employers determined teachers' wages principally on the criterion of gender, not qualifications. [53] That was hardly unique to the Scottish teaching profession. What may have further depressed the salaries of Scottish schoolmistresses (relative to English levels) was the oversupply of candidates, noted above. While Corr acknowledges this, she does not place it within the economic context of a low-wage economy, with fewer professional opportunities for women than in England, and the social context where a premium was placed on the teaching profession, in contrast to its low status in England. [54]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Scottish economy grew dramatically, and came to dominate key sectors in the world economy. Such phenomenal growth, however, was narrowly based on the predominantly male sector of heavy industry (coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding and heavy engineering), and very dependent on the world market. The other side of this surge in industrialisation and

urbanisation from the 1840s was widespread insecurity of employment; compared to England, Scotland had a low-wage and high cost of living economy. This had obvious implications for women, particularly single women who had to support themselves and possibly a family, but also married women who needed to contribute to the family income. A study of Glasgow between 1830 and 1912 has shown high rates of spinsterhood in the city, which was attributed to the 'massive' emigration of young men from Scotland and the migration of young women to Glasgow in search of the means to support themselves. This situation posed significant problems for middle-class families unable to support adult daughters. For the latter:

> the usual employment options were teaching, both in private schools and, especially following the 1872 Education Act, in the rapidly growing public funded schools sector, or in small business, notably food retailing, or in women's garment-making. But, inevitably, these were over-saturated occupations, characterised by low earning and instability, and recourse to shopkeeping severely compromised the status of women from a professional or higher middle-class background, thus limiting the options of some women still further. [55]

Working-class women were concentrated overwhelmingly in domestic service, textiles and the clothing industries, and agriculture - indeed, farming in Scotland came to depend more on female labour, both regular and seasonal, than in England into the twentieth century. [56] None of these four sectors were considered respectable enough for middle-class women. The Glasgow novelist Sarah Tytler (Henrietta Keddie) was one of four daughters of a Fifeshire lawyer whose modest and diminishing income could not support them in adulthood. Her elder sisters worked for several years as governesses before the four of them combined forces to open a girls' school in the small town of Coupar. As Tytler remarked in her memoirs:

> When learning dressmaking and such posts as housekeeper and waiting-maid had fallen quite out of court for girls of the middle class, there was absolutely nothing for them by which they could earn a living except as teachers. [57]

Like the daughters of skilled workers, middle-class women found a respectable means of becoming self-supporting in a key male profession. With the Education Acts of 1861 but especially 1872, female entry into teaching was positively encouraged. As Tom Devine has noted:

> Teaching provided women with a significant professional career and a new independence but, in terms of pay, promotion and status, their position in Scotland long remained much inferior to that of their sisters in England. [58]

It seems curious that 'status' is linked here with pay and promotion rather than profession and independence, given the importance placed on teaching and education in nineteenth-century Scotland. Certainly, female teachers faced discrimination and inequality in the Scottish teaching profession, but the absence of large-scale opposition to that situation does not necessarily imply either passivity or acquiescence. From this study of school logs and Board minutes, many women teachers appear to have derived considerable satisfaction from their work, and some at least challenged decisions taken by male headteachers. For middle-class Scottish schoolmistresses who sought to avoid employment in the predominantly working-class Board schools, girls' schools in England, with the opportunity of a headship and a higher salary and with inferior competition from English schoolmistresses, might indeed have been tempting, but it is not 'proof' that the English system was less patriarchal.

Lindy Moore's study of the first female graduates from Aberdeen University shows that few went to England. By 1911, Scottish middle-class women were more likely to move directly into secondary teaching, while those from the lower middle class and the working class generally went into primary and higher grade schools, at least at first. [59] Certainly, the high proportion of graduate teachers in the parish schools of the North East had led to the assumption that female teachers were inferior to males. Yet, especially with the 1872 Act, it gave rise to another assumption, that if women were to be employed in the Board schools, then they should receive a university education, in keeping with the national tradition and local practice. Moore records that in 1884 Aberdeen University applied, albeit unsuccessfully, to the Scotch Education Department for permission to establish a system of training teachers,

female as well as male. [60]

Teaching remained the main occupational career for female graduates into the twentieth century, and indeed women's entry into higher education in the 1890s paralleled the rapidly growing involvement of universities in teacher education, for which the EIS long campaigned As the annual report for 1886 pointed out, the EIS from its foundation [1847]:

> has never ceased to press for the recognition of *Education as a University Subject*. The Bell Chairs of Education in the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews are but an instalment towards the realisation of our views. We must have the Chairs suitably endowed, and we must have them duly recognised in the University curriculum, and in the graduation schemes. Why is Aberdeen (*par excellence* the University of teachers) still without a Professor of Education? Why has wealthy Glasgow failed to obtain even the lectureship on the subject which its Senate years ago voted so desirable? [61]

Besides reflecting the limited career opportunities open to women, the 'choice' of school teaching also shows the restricted, and unequal, sources of funding for female compared to male students. This was even more the case for Scotland than England. On the one hand, Scottish women had a more limited choice of professions than English women; on the other hand, teaching, the primary one for both, had a higher status in Scotland than in England.

Corr's conclusion that the 1872 Education Act brought expanding opportunities for women and the subsequent feminisation of the teaching profession, in numbers at least, is hardly controversial. [62] The 'ideology of professionalisation of teaching in Scotland' may well have, as she has suggested, inhibited demands for equal pay. More contentious is her argument that patriarchy was stronger in the Scottish education system, reflected in the stronger equal pay movement in England around the turn of the twentieth century. [63] Corr quotes from Elizabeth Fish, first elected woman president of the EIS (1913), to prove complicity with that male-dominated professional body in resisting demands for equal pay:

> It would be a disastrous thing for our country were the work of education to

> fall almost entirely into the hands of women ... men teachers are scarce and their service can naturally command a higher price than that of women which is abundantly offered. [64]

Yet Fish's argument was more complex than this truncated quotation implies, and than Corr's claim that Fish was 'vehemently opposed to the principle of equal pay'. [65] Indeed, in her presidential address to the EIS, Fish acknowledged the justice of the principle of equal pay, but argued that the circumstances not only militated against it, but made it thoroughly unrealistic. She pointed out that there was no single standard of pay, even for men, and that teachers in the many small Boards never had their salary raised, yet were expected to meet the expense of keeping up with educational theories and methods as well as new subjects. The number of men entering the profession was still in decline in 1913, while women teachers had far fewer prospects than even those held out to men, few of whom could hope for a headship in city schools under the age of fifty.

> We have left behind us the days when woman could remain apart in the safe shelter of the home, and leave to man the struggle for the means of living. She has had to enter the arena and to fight her own battle, and, by accepting the low wages man was willing to accord her accepted inferiority, she has helped to bring down the standard of wages, and is slowly driving men out of the profession. I am convinced that women are in a sphere peculiarly fitted to their best qualities of both head and heart, when they are engaged in the work of teaching; that they display in their intercourse with children, and especially the little ones, a patient and cheerful performance of monotonous duties that are not so often found in a man. Nevertheless I am convinced also that it would be a disastrous thing for our country were the work of education to fall almost entirely into the hands of women, as it seems in danger of doing.

The assumptions about women having particular qualities related to their gender were similar to claims by 'equal but different' feminists, while the scarcity of male relative to female teachers, particularly in primary schools, is still an issue today. As for salaries, Fish noted that nearly 75 per cent of teachers in Scotland were women:

> If so many women have entered and are still entering upon the teaching profession, it is because, until lately, it was almost the only possible career for well educated girls who had to make their own way in the world. But as new careers are opening out for women, many of the best girls in the Higher Grade, and still more in the Secondary Schools are turning away from teaching to the greater possibilities of medicine and the civil service.

The attractions of better paid professional and white-collar jobs for both men and women meant that the quality of those entering the profession might decline; but the implication was that fewer women entering the profession might be a lever to press for improved pay and conditions. However, male recruits to the profession already possessed a scarcity value, and still experienced difficulty in making claims for higher salaries, whereas the number of women seeking entry into teaching was only beginning to decline. Hence, Fish argued that:

> it is a fact that things are dear in proportion to their scarcity. Men teachers are scarce, and their service can naturally command a higher price than that of women. ... If teachers ask that the salaries of all teachers be now raised to the level of what men think theirs ought to be, we shall alienate the sympathies of a public not yet convinced of the justice of our demand. Rather let us aim at convincing them of the urgent necessity for at least a considerable increase of salaries as they are. [66]

Fish, therefore, acknowledged the legitimacy of the demand for equal pay, but judged that not only would it be unacceptable in the current climate, but that it might harm the strong case women had for an increase in salaries. This position was pragmatic, and not simply based on a refusal to challenge the male hierarchy in the profession.

By 1995, Corr's argument had hardened into an insistence that Scottish women teachers were 'even more oppressed' then their English counterparts because of a more rigidly patriarchal educational structure. [67] She claimed that her research reinforced Lindy Moore's finding 'that there was a Presbyterian tradition which stamped women as second class citizens'. [68] Yet both the Presbyterian tradition and

Moore's analysis are considerably more complex than Corr allows. In her study of women at Aberdeen University, Moore concluded that nineteenth-century Scotland was indeed a patriarchal society, but that the close connection which was believed to exist between education and the Presbyterian religion led some at least to argue that women ought to be well educated because self-improvement was a religious and moral duty; indeed, a right. Women's position in Scottish universities remained peripheral, but nevertheless in Aberdeen a combination of the Scottish educational tradition and local factors meant that many lower middle-class and working-class girls were able to attend and graduate from Aberdeen University. [69] In general, however, working-class girls were discouraged from university education by a bursary system which favoured boys, but as Robert D. Anderson argues, probably more so by social expectations of their class and gender. [70] Given the widespread poverty, the need to contribute to the family income would also seem to have militated against most working-class girls, and indeed boys, staying on at school more than the minimum period required. The school logs for areas such as the Borders, Perthshire and the Highlands show the continuing dependence of farming on child labour, female as much as male, as well as on adult women throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century.

For Corr, the fact that teaching had professional status in Scotland is itself evidence of a patriarchal tradition, and the desire of schoolmistresses to share in that tradition is seen as making them accomplices to patriarchy. Both professionalism and Presbyterianism were integral to notions of Scottish identity and need to be rooted in the latter rather than simply dismissed as 'patriarchy'. At the same time, the championing of single-sex schooling in England did not ensure recognition of either professional status or sexual equality. What Corr sees as a form of positive discrimination might equally be seen as a ghettoisation of schoolmistresses and a bolstering of the sexual hierarchy. Indeed, it is difficult to support Corr's claim that in Scotland 'the contribution of women teachers was denigrated both relative to the dominie and to women teachers in England'. [71] Certainly, the EIS had been founded to protect the status and position of the male-dominated profession of teaching. T.R. Bone has pointed out that, before 1872, the parochial schoolmasters of Scotland traditionally held their position for life (subject to certain conditions imposed in 1861, such as immoral conduct, cruel and improper treatment of pupils, and failure to

discharge duties). With the 1872 Act, however, not only was that security of tenure lost, but one of the main reasons put forward for dismissal was economic: the easiest way to reduce the rates was to dismiss a male teacher and employ a female at a lower salary. [72] That attack on the teaching profession was rectified, to a considerable degree, in 1882 with the Public Schools (Scotland) Teachers Act, by which no certificated teacher was to be dismissed without due notice to the teacher and due deliberation by the School Board. There was no English equivalent to this Act, which, while it did not end dismissals, was nevertheless a concession to the professional status of Scottish teachers. It was also a recognition of the threat to that status from the employment by Boards of schoolmistresses

Nevertheless, the trend of increasing numbers of schoolmistresses and a declining number of schoolmasters continued. As late as 1887, only 18 per cent of EIS membership was female. The concern expressed by the EIS president that year was no longer simply due to the threat to the salaries and status of the latter, but was also a recognition of the contribution that women were making to the profession:

> Considering their numbers, and the important place assigned to them in the work of education, this is not as it should be; and I trust, ere another year elapse, an effort will be made to bring the figures more in harmony with the value we attach to their services. [73]

Of course, there is a strong whiff of condescension here, but it should be remembered that feminists also argued for the importance of female teachers based on a gendered division of labour. There is a need to be careful in applying what is effectively twentieth-century shorthand to nineteenth-century preoccupations with education in particular and national identity in general. 'Democratic intellect' has been used by historians in the twentieth-century to refer to the socially inclusive tradition in parochial schooling. That included a tradition of co-education (at least in small schools) or mixed-sex schooling. It is indeed hard to find a lass of parts, but as the nineteenth century progressed, and particularly from the 1872 Education Act, a few at least made the most of the opportunities in such a system by adapting the masculine ideal (from lad/lass of parts to dominie). Elizabeth Fish might be seen in this light, rather than simply categorising her, as Helen Corr does in *Image and Identity*, as a

middle-class woman who benefited from the masculine educational tradition and so was reluctant to challenge it by championing women's rights. Fish was the daughter of a minister who came into the profession by the pupil-teacher route, was placed first in her year in Scotland in the Queen's scholarship examination, and then trained at the Glasgow Church of Scotland college. Her teaching career, from 1881, spanned Board schools, higher grade schools, the West of Scotland College of Domestic Science, and, after gaining an LLA (Lady Licentiate in Arts) from St. Andrew's University in 1885, Bellahouston Academy (Glasgow) where she became head of modern languages (1920 until her retiral in 1925). When she stood for the EIS presidency, she polled 4822 votes against three male candidates whose combined total was 3068. Low self-esteem does not seem to have prevented Elizabeth Fish from developing her academic qualifications and professional functions. She was not one of those female teachers who sought better promotional opportunities in England, but preferred instead to manoeuvre within the Scottish system. Given what she achieved, it would seem condescending and presumptuous to assume that she was simply a dupe of patriarchal ideology in general, and a male-dominated profession in particular. Fish was a daughter of the manse. Fifty years before she was elected president of the EIS, the Reverend David Esdaile explained why he had opened a 'College for the Daughters of Ministers and Professors':

> A large proportion of ministers' daughters must depend upon their own exertions in teaching or some other mode of employment. And society, as a whole, is interested in whatever tends to elevate their intellectual status and practical uses. [74]

Thus, there was room for manoeuvre within Presbyterian patriarchy, as will be discussed below. Where Helen Corr sees obeisance to a patriarchal ideology, some at least of Scottish women teachers in the late nineteenth century saw, and seized, opportunity. Since the other aspect of the educational tradition was meritocracy, it should not be surprising that the School Board mistress sought to assert her place in it.

Corr also contends that Fish's opposition to equal pay was a 'clear indication of the low self-esteem and deep-seated oppression of women in Scottish society',

which she relates to the distinctly Presbyterian culture, and the retarded issue of women's rights, notably but not only in the teaching profession, compared to England. [75] To argue that Scottish women teachers, and by implication Scottish women in general, were more oppressed by patriarchy than their English counterparts, is to make a huge generalisation about Scottish society. The notion of Presbyterianism as a peculiarly patriarchal religion is a truism which is scarcely examined. Lesley Anne Orr Macdonald's study of women and Presbyterianism in Scotland from around 1830 to around 1930, however, shows that, while there was a 'masculinization of religion' with the Reformation, nevertheless in Calvinism, women as individual human beings were recognised as having spiritual equality with men. Macdonald contends that John Knox's desire to bring education to all the people of Scotland meant that the emphasis on literacy and the right to read scripture for oneself was 'potentially revolutionary for females'. [76] Thus, while the meritocratic aspect of the educational tradition privileged at least a minority of boys, the democratic aspect included both sexes. As Alexander Craig Sellar, secretary to the Lord Advocate of Scotland and a member of the Argyll Commission, insisted of the 1872 Act, it laid down the framework of a graded system of public education, covering infant, elementary and higher class public schools which was compulsory and universal. It was the duty of every parent, he held, to teach his [sic] children between the ages of of five and 13 reading, writing and arithmetic. In addition to whatever other subjects were taught, girls *might* be taught 'female industry and household training by a female teacher employed for that purpose'. [77]

The 1872 Act, then, was an attempt to revive the Presbyterian educational tradition while still recognising traditional gender roles. As Macdonald reflects, by the nineteenth century, it was a widely accepted Protestant convention that the Reformation had been a great benefit to women, because it purified and dignified marriage. [78] With the rise of the Evangelicals to prominence by the 1830s, the concept of 'woman's mission' both reinforced traditional gender and class divisions, and also contained radical possibilities for an extension of female influence, notably in education and, from the 1880s, in the provision of social services by all the Presbyterian churches. [79] The latter was a response partly to the perceived increase in social problems and partly to the perceived challenge from the women's movement. While the overall impact of the 'woman's mission' was conservative, in buttressing

Presbyterian patriarchy, it was also experienced by many women as empowering. They found dignity as well as the potential for action in the Presbyterian notion of personal accountability. Thus, Presbyterian women did not fundamentally challenge patriarchy, but rather they worked within it to expand the boundaries of the 'woman's sphere'. In a 1997 conference paper, Macdonald argued that there had been a significant process of feminisation of patriarchal Presbyterianism in Scotland in the century after 1830, although, like the similar process in the teaching profession, this feminisation was 'essentially of service rather than of status and authority':

> The religious framework which had once been vigilant in seeking to control and confine women to strictly domestic lifestyles began to offer sanction and encouragement to engage, in one way or another, with social and public issues. Many thousands of women were inspired, cajoled or otherwise motivated to do work which had been allotted to them. Some demonstrated real qualities of imagination, courage and leadership in asserting their right (by deed more often than deliberate proclamation) to involvement in concerns hitherto regarded as inappropriate for women. [80]

The Presbyterian churches defended the tradition of mixed schools, and considered domestic work an inappropriate subject for the school curriculum. However, the Revised Code offered grants for sewing, and the churches came to see that female teachers could play an important role.

> On the one hand it enables the Mistress to teach or rather to train a class of the population who have never yet received their fair share of attention in our school - infants. ... On the other hand, it enables the Master to give an hour a day to an advanced class of Latin, Book-keeping or practical maths. The Mistress overtakes all her literary instruction in the early part of the day while the senior girls are with the master, and is then free for industrial work. Sewing and the cognate arts thus receive much more prominence and attention than they could receive in any other way. [81]

Of course, ministers' daughters like Elizabeth Fish generally had to support

themselves, and teaching was not only a respectable occupation but one valued by their national and religious heritage. Interestingly, Macdonald found no evidence of a Presbyterian campaign against women's entry into higher education.

5.4: Feminisation and Anglicisation

In the 1860s English elementary schools had imposed on them Robert Lowe's Revised Code, a system of payment by results which focused on the '3Rs'. The Scots resisted this English practice, which was so alien to their tradition, but by the 1870s, the principles behind it and system of inspection were in place in Scotland. One impact on the training of teachers was the narrowing of the normal school curricula. It discouraged men in Scotland from entering the teaching profession, although by the late nineteenth century those educated lower-class men who would previously have looked to teaching for social advancement had a wider choice of jobs in industry, commerce and the imperial service.

It seemed very much as if the Scottish teaching profession had been anglicised in the wake of the 1872 Act, a process which provided women with career prospects previously denied them, even if their status and pay were inferior to that of their male colleagues. However, the Scottish educational tradition, with its stress on university education for teachers, persisted, and differentiated the profession from the English situation, even as it entrenched gender divisions. In Glasgow especially, every encouragement was given to teachers to improve their educational standard, by supplementing their training with university courses (usually in the morning), with no loss of pay. This revival of the democratic intellect was warmly welcomed and seen as strengthening Scottish national identity, in its implied respect for learning through the combination of intellectual rigour and teaching competence. The First Annual Report of the Board of Education for Scotland (1873) accepted that teacher training promoted 'dexterity' in the management of schools, but insisted that it also exercised an:

> injurious influence on the mental rigour and learning of the members of the profession. In accordance with this opinion, it has now been alleged that School Boards have found if difficult to procure teachers of the old stamp to

whom Scottish education has been deeply indebted.

The report went on to record the Board's anxiety that the training of pupil teachers should have a more intellectual character, which it acknowledged was not the tradition in England. It recommended that male teachers should only be considered for certificates of the first class if they had either obtained a university degree, or attended two winter sessions at one of the Scottish universities, which were 'thoroughly national institutions'. The Board next recommended 'that it be made possible for female candidates to obtain ultimately certificates of the first class, without attending classes at any university'. [82] Prejudice against female teachers, based on the national tradition in education, persisted, and the increased employment of women in Board schools was deplored. [83] At the same time, inspectors were warm in their praise of women teachers who, being single, devoted their 'whole heart and soul' to their work, their surrogate family. [84] Interestingly, in his *History of the Burgh Schools in Scotland* (1876), James Grant argued that the feminine, maternal role made higher education essential for women:

> Unfortunately the old fallacy with regard to the education of women, *viz.*, that the higher instruction was not necessary for them, is not yet exploded, but we are slowly realising that any knowledge calculated to improve the human mind should be communicated to women, no less than to men. Indeed, woman, being by 'birth and destiny' the greatest educator of the two sexes, would seem to require higher education more urgently than men, whose important education - carried on by means of universities, libraries, travels and business - only begins when that of woman too often ends. [85]

The cost of training male teachers was more than for female, compounded, as noted above, by the fact that because they generally came from a poorer social background than the women, the men needed bursaries, while the women paid their own way, and in a very real sense subsidised the men's education. [86] By 1895, however, training college women were admitted to university classes, and women with LLAs were being appointed to training college staffs. [87] Official reports show that, once admitted to universities, female teachers were as keen as men to exploit the opportunity of

attendance offered by School Boards, which until the 1890s had been limited to male teachers. In 1874, 13 male teachers from training colleges attended university; in 1894, when women were allowed to study at university, 36 women and 106 male teachers attended. [88] There was relief as well as pride that the national tradition of a scholarly teaching profession was continuing:

> not a few of the future Scotch teachers are acquiring some higher culture in a sphere larger than that of any institution devoted to purely professional training and we believe that this will greatly help in maintaining the high standard which has always been a traditional characteristic of Scottish education. [89]

How does the situation of female teachers in Scotland compare to that in England in the nineteenth century? Pamela Horn noted in 1976 that even in the mid-Victorian period, the occupation of teacher in England was still regarded with doubt and even contempt, because it had been the refuge of those too old, too sick or too incompetent to do anything else. [90] In addition, the social origins of elementary teachers were humble. Frances Widdowson recounted that James Kay Shuttleworth had regarded elementary teaching as unsuitable for daughters of the professional middle class because of its low pay and low status, and had concentrated on working-class children for the pupil-teacher scheme. [91] Thus the image of the elementary teacher in the mid nineteenth century was of a fairly bright but still lower-class person, with the lower middle class taking over from the working class in the training colleges by the 1880s. Teacher training consolidated not only the existing pattern of gendered division of labour and curriculum, but also social divisions between women and, in the elementary schools, between schoolmistresses and their pupils. Generally, if middle-class English girls went into teaching, it was not into the elementary schools, but to private and high schools for girls. That seems to have begun to change in the 1880s and 1890s, as the elementary system developed and more headships became available to women, but Widdowson argues that elementary teaching did not become a generally accepted occupation for the high-school educated middle-class girl before 1914. [92] Thus, even the development of higher grade schools from the 1880s did not upset this social hierarchy. As Wendy Robinson noted of London, whereas higher

grade schools provided one of the few routes through which lower-class women could gain financial and social independence, they also perpetuated limited opportunities for them, since elementary teaching continued to be regarded as the most socially inferior form of school teaching. [93]

Pamela Horn pointed to a dilution of the formal academic standards of teachers in England by the end of the nineteenth century: in 1875, trained certificated teachers had represented 70 per cent of the males and 57 per cent of the females employed in elementary schools, whereas in 1914 their shares had fallen to 66 per cent of the men and 32 per cent of the women. Horn noted in particular the substantial increase in uncertificated and untrained females in English elementary schools, especially in rural counties: from 13 per cent of the total employed in 1875 to 41 per cent in 1914. [94] These percentages do not tally with those produced by Alec Ellis, from Reports of the Committee on Council on Education, but the trend is the same: Ellis records 37 per cent untrained female teachers (to 24 per cent of male teachers) in 1875, rising to 51 per cent (and 29 per cent respectively) in 1898. [95] The differences in percentages may be due to the fact that Ellis included pupil teachers who had not gone on to gain a certificate from a training college. Ellis also recorded that in 1900, 43.3 per cent of the certificated mistresses earned less than £75, while only 11 per cent were given residences free of rent (compared to 25 per cent of schoolmasters). [96] June Purvis gives the same percentages as Horn for uncertificated women teachers in elementary schools, and shows that the rise in uncertificated male teachers was not so great: in 1875, only nine per cent of men (and 13 per cent of women) elementary schoolteachers were uncertificated; by 1914, it was 12 per cent of men (compared to 41 per cent of women). [97]

This was in the same period as a rise in the academic qualifications of Board schoolmistresses in Scotland. By 1914, the majority of women teachers in Scottish Board schools were certificated and trained, compared to under half the teaching force in England and Wales who remained untrained. [98] Catholic schools in Scotland, however, remained outside the national system until 1918, and in this period relied heavily on untrained and uncertificated teachers. In 1893, the Glasgow School Board had only eight untrained to 208 trained teachers. In contrast, Catholic schools in the city had 24 untrained to only 14 trained teachers, while in Scotland as a whole, two-thirds of their female and one-third of their male teachers were untrained. [99]

While middle-class English women avoided elementary school teaching, they were nevertheless drawn to domestic subjects, or cookery, training schools, further strengthening the social and gender divisions in English schooling since domestic subjects were not taught in private or high schools for girls. As was the case in Scotland, not only did this distinguish the curriculum of the latter from that experienced by lower-class girls, it put those specialists at odds with the socially inferior elementary schoolmistress who resented the intrusion of her less rigorously trained social superior. [100]

Of course, besides the specialism of domestic economy, the Association of Headmistresses, established in 1874, sought to ensure a career structure for the middle-class female teacher. Certainly, a co-educational system as was the norm among Board schools in Scotland favoured male authority; but on the other hand, single-sex schooling reflected both class and gender hierarchies. Indeed, middle-class women in England championed these distinctions. According to Joyce Pederson, public school headmistresses emulated their male counterparts and strove to be 'the carriers of a new professional, meritocratic ideal'. [101] As June Purvis has pointed out, the new girls' public schools, modelled on Cheltenham Ladies' College, emphasised their elite status, and while high schools were more socially mixed, they generally remained middle-class institutions. Moreover, college educated women stayed aloof from working-class elementary school teaching, so that the entry of middle-class women into higher education served to widen the gulf between the educated female elite and other women, especially the working class. [102] As the campaigner for improvements in English middle-class girls' education, Emily Shirreff, remarked in 1877, 'teachers of elementary schools are taken in general from the wholly uneducated classes; and apart from what the training colleges have given, possess no culture at all'. [103] Shirreff was adamant that the education of middle-class girls should be no less rigorous than that of their male counterparts. Ironically, it was the improvements in girls' secondary education in the later nineteenth century which led to a growing interest among middle-class women in elementary teaching as a career, thus blocking the social mobility of working-class and lower middle-class women who could not afford the secondary school fees. Dina Copelman has argued that at the end of the nineteenth century, elementary school teachers in London had moved closer to the middle-class, feminist advocacy of a gender-specific education for

working-class girls. One reason was the growing influence of eugenics. However, Copelman also points to a deterioration in the career prospects of women teachers in London in the 1890s: they were barred from inspectorships (unless of needlework); their share of headships declined as boys' and girls' departments were amalgamated under a single and, as in Scotland, usually male head teacher; and as infants' and girls' departments were combined, with the loss of one headship for a woman. Thus, for reasons of economy mixed-sex schooling was increasing in London and other major urban centres by the later nineteenth century, and as in Scotland, it privileged men in the profession. [104] Moreover, by the 1890s there was a decline in the number of female pupil teachers in England as alternative jobs opened for them in offices. Coupled with new restrictions on the hours of work for pupil teachers, it became more economical to employ uncertificated and untrained female teachers, as reflected in the percentages noted earlier. [105]

5.5: Conclusion

On the one hand, the history of the Scottish teaching profession reflects the patriarchal nature of Scottish society in the nineteenth century. On the other, it reveals a much more complex situation than the usual assumption that Scotland was simply more patriarchal than England. [106] First of all, teaching was recognised as a profession, in contrast to England. Education for all - regardless of class or gender - was seen as essential in Scotland, and never feared, as it had been in England. Before the late nineteenth-century education acts, that 'democratic' tradition, with all its biases in favour of men, still meant that women in Scotland had a far greater chance of learning to read and to sign their name than in England. [107]

The Catholic Irish immigration of the nineteenth century complicated the educational issue in Scotland. While the Presbyterian Scots were suffering a crisis of identity with regard to divisions within their own church and perceived anglicising trends in education, they felt challenged by the alien Catholic Irish, themselves a disorientated (and despised) minority. The Presbyterian Scots tried to resist both influences, and one of the key traditional institutions which set them apart from both was the national educational system. The male parish schoolteacher, the dominie, seemed the epitome of the democratic intellect. The female teacher came to be seen

almost as a necessary evil, to meet the demands of an increasing population. Indeed, given the predominance of women in the English elementary system and in the Catholic schools in Scotland, the increase in schoolmistresses could be seen as proof of the decline of the national tradition, as well as an undermining of Scottish identity. As the Board school system expanded, however, women made career gains and gradually, if grudgingly, were recognised as junior partners in preserving the educational tradition. The fact that female teachers remained within a gendered division of labour was not, or not simply, due to the male domination of the profession, but also a consequence of feminist championing of separate spheres of the sexes.

Certainly, the teaching profession experienced feminisation in numbers only. Male teachers were determined to preserve their dominant status. As in Presbyterianism in general, power in the educational profession remained in male hands after the 1872 Act. That Act was intended to continue the tradition of a national system of education, establishing School Boards in every district, embracing secondary as well as elementary schooling, envisaging a liberal, rather than a narrowly utilitarian, education. In keeping with the national tradition, the Act was followed by a policy which encouraged male teacher trainees to attend university classes at the state's expense, ensuring that men with university experience continued to dominate the profession. [108]

There were important differences in the experiences of women teachers, and in their opportunities of advancement, according to social class and religion. Moreover, a reading of school log books, written by the headteachers who were generally male, shows that we cannot assume that nineteenth-century Scottish women simply embraced their expected role as conduit for domestic skills. Log book entries tend to be brief and gender-blind, yet they occasionally reveal female teachers who were not passive victims of a male hierarchy, or indeed of feminist reformers, while a few resisted efforts of their headmasters to exert, or abuse, their authority. Generally, the schoolmistresses seemed to have seen themselves as working in partnership with their male colleagues.

Helen Corr has argued convincingly that the occupational roles between the sexes in the Scottish teaching profession became much more clearly defined and rigid during the late nineteenth century. However, her suggestion that gender roles were

expressed and constructed according to the prevailing ideology of domesticity ignores the interaction of nationality with gender in the shaping of the Scottish teaching profession. [109] As this discussion has shown, the debate on the state of education in Scotland and the fears of English influences led to a strong defence of the male dominated profession. Politically and economically, Scots in the nineteenth century seemed content with the 1707 Union, but culturally there was a deep unease. Moreover, the traditionally high status of teaching had been undermined by the very economic benefits of association with England. After 1870, when elementary school teaching in England was dominated by women, feminists argued, as did their counterparts in Scotland, on the basis of gender stereotypes in an effort to carve out a niche for women in the profession. [110] In both English elementary schools and Scottish Catholic schools, a substantial proportion of schoolmistresses was uncertificated, in contrast to the Board schools in Scotland. To preserve Scottish identity in the face of such alien influences, it was seen as essential to maintain a tradition of a male graduate profession, even as the educational system became increasingly dependent on women. Thus, from the beginning, the Board of Education for Scotland insisted that School Boards:

> should endeavour to secure the services of men whose acquirements are such as to qualify them to give elementary instruction in Mathematics, Latin, Greek, and other branches; as it is only in this way that we can hope to place instruction in these higher branches of knowledge within reach of the whole population, and thereby secure the advancement of promising scholars of all classes, and maintain and elevate the Scottish standard of education. [111]

A university education was seen as an essential complement to vocational training for advancement in the profession, and for upholding the educational tradition. By the 1890s, when universities were opened to women, it was recognised that at least the elite of female trainee teachers would avail themselves of the opportunity so long enjoyed by their male counterparts, of attending university. Yet one inspector warned of the dangers of raising women's career expectations when there was a surfeit of girls seeking advancement through an academic education:

> I should hope that one good consequence of teaching cookery and laundry work in schools will be to diminish the number of girls who aspire to become teachers or get employment in the Civil Service. Both employments are unable to supply vacancies for a moiety of the candidates, and it will be a serious task for a young maiden who dreamed of success in the school or the Government office to reconcile herself good-humouredly to the washing of pans and dishes. But should the practical acquaintance with domestic work in school make her desirous from the first to engage in domestic duties, her lot in life will appear natural, and one in ordinary circumstances productive of contentment. [112]

As James Albisetti pointed out, there is no single model of the feminisation of teaching, but instead there are many factors militating against a simple explanation, as comparisons, including economic conditions, religion, cultural traditions, and gender ideologies, reveal. [113] Dina Copelman has argued that, as long as teaching in England was dominated by women, there was no real need to recognise it as a profession. [114] Schoolmistresses in England argued against co-education not only because it led to fewer career opportunities for women, but because it was 'unnatural' and even 'un-English'. [115] In Scotland, where there were fewer opportunities for an educated woman to earn a living outside of teaching than in England, the position was additionally attractive because it was held in relatively high social esteem.

Barry Bergen observed that in England 'class lines and class conflict constituted the greatest barrier to the professionalisation of teaching'. Scottish teachers sought to maintain aspects of secondary education in Board schools, in keeping with the parochial tradition, whereas in England secondary teachers fought to establish a middle-class system separate from the working-class elementary sector. [116] The female model of professionalisation was rooted as much in class as in gender, and was inadequate for elementary schoolmistresses. In their efforts to achieve professional status, middle-class women emphasised the ideology of domesticity and the notion of separate spheres for the sexes, enhancing rather than diminishing gender differences. As Dina Copleman's study of London schoolmistresses shows:

> This was not, however, an argument which spoke to the experiences of

> women who entered elementary school teaching. Instead of having to account for their aberrant desires, labour aristocratic women's search for meaningful work was presented as normal, the result of family strategies where both males and females had been raised to work. Rather than expressing a sense of mission, lower-middle-class women stressed their need for independence. Instead of highlighting differences between men and women, they proposed similarities. In all of these ways the women who entered elementary teaching had different attitudes to and experiences of work from middle-class women, and the professional model middle-class women had developed held little appeal to elementary teachers in the decades before 1900. [117]

Helen Corr contrasts the feminism of the first woman president of the National Union of Teachers (1911), Isabel Cleghorn, and especially her championing of equal pay, with Elizabeth Fish's obeisance to EIS patriarchy. Yet not only was Fish's position more complex than Corr implies, but Cleghorn argued her case by reinforcing gender stereotypes: men might think women can manage a household, cook and bring up children by instinct, 'but a girl requires just as much training to make a pudding as does a man to make a locomotive'. [118]

The English system disadvantaged the working class, especially the girls; the Scottish system, with its tradition of, and continuing preference for, mixed schooling (at least for the working class) disadvantaged female school teachers. Certainly, the notion of the 'democratic intellect' has served to obscure the variations and the inferiority in girls' experience of schooling, notably in terms of provision and curriculum, in the nineteenth century relative to boys; but it is again difficult to weigh one form of patriarchy against the other.

Acknowledgement of gender inequalities in Scottish education highlights similarities between the educational experiences of Scottish and English girls and women. However, Helen Corr's opposition of the feminism of some English schoolmistresses to what she portrays as the acceptance by Scottish schoolmistresses of a subordinate position within a masculine profession, is too sharply drawn. [119] A narrow focus on Presbyterian patriarchy, which does not seriously consider the challenges to the established church in the nineteenth century from within as well as from without its own ranks, overlooks the power and the attraction of the myth of the

democratic intellect for Scottish women. Moreover, to contrast the development of girls' secondary schools in England in the later nineteenth century with its relative absence in Scotland posits a superiority of the English system which Scots then would not have recognised. As acknowledged in chapter one, that the Scots did not see a need for an Emily Davies figure may well have indicated complacency about the state of secondary education for girls, but it did not reflect a lack either of interest or of improvement. Advertisements in Scottish newspapers reveal that in the late nineteenth century there was a growing desire for middle-class girls to share in the traditionally academic education of their brothers, though with at least a partially gender specific curriculum, and if not to be taught in mixed schools, then to be taught by the best schoolmasters, by the traditional university graduate.

Outside of private schools for girls, secondary education was administered in Scotland by the School Boards. A minority of the larger School Boards, notably Glasgow, established special high schools for girls, but in general the traditionally mixed school continued, though with greater attention given to subjects considered suitable for girls, in addition to what were seen as refining accomplishments for middle-class young ladies, such as music, painting, and drawing. As noted in the introduction, Miss Janet Galloway, of Queen Margaret College, Glasgow, asserted in 1897 that girls and women had achieved educational equality with boys and men, and had done so in mixed classes. She concluded that women had as good opportunities as those available to men for preparing themselves for professional or other work. [120] It is evident that this was an exaggerated claim, to say the least. Yet Galloway was also asserting women's place within the national tradition of education, which had not simply been preserved but had been expanded, bringing clear, if still restricted, career gains to at least a minority of women; and for the majority of girls an academic education as understood by the notion of 'democratic intellect', that is, more than the English working-class based notion of elementary schooling. Whatever the intentions of those who sought to preserve the democratic intellect, women teachers gradually were establishing a place for themselves within that male-centred tradition by means of a two-pronged, and sometimes conflicting, strategy: manoeuvring within the male-dominated system, and manipulating the notion of separate spheres of the sexes.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

This study is in broad agreement with Robert D. Anderson, that the achievement of the 1872 (Scotland) Education Act was to extend the same basic standards in literacy and numeracy to all, regardless of gender, class or location. [1] Nevertheless, the findings here, which are summarised below, qualify that conclusion: gender also meant differentiation between girls and boys, usually at the expense of the former, and notably in curriculum, attendance, educational and job opportunities. Moreover, while working-class girls in Scotland suffered inequality in their experiences of schooling, the regional and indeed local context, as well as the national educational tradition, helped shape and differentiate those experiences. Thus, in opposition to David Limond's thesis, the argument here is that gender was a major factor in the schooling of the working class, notably in attendance and curriculum. [2] Indeed, the division into masculine and feminine subjects hardened by the turn of the century, though again, as this conclusion will summarise, the implementation of government policy was mediated by regional factors, and above all by the needs of the family. As the third and fourth chapters have shown, urban schools were more likely to be able to follow government guidelines on domestic subjects than country districts. In addition, while all regions accepted that girls had domestic responsibilities which boys generally did not share, the ideology of separate spheres could not be imposed on rural areas where female labour was a vital part of the agricultural economy, even more so than in England. [3]

This study, then, concurs with Helen Corr on the different, even conflicting, notions of domesticity held by the middle and working classes, and, in contradiction to David Limond, accepts her insistence on the centrality of domestic subjects in the schooling of working-class girls. [4] While the curriculum was gendered, however, it is difficult to identify the middle-class concept of separate spheres in nineteenth-century working-class girls' schooling, whatever the region. Even in Catholic schools, which embraced domestic subjects with more enthusiasm than Board schools, there was resistance from parents and pupils.

Thus the female experience of schooling in nineteenth-century Scotland was subject to the interaction of nationality with social class and gender, with much dependent on the regional economy. As this study has also found, however, the pressures of anglicisation and Irish immigration fuelled the concern for the loss of Scottish identity. Of these influences, the former had both positive and negative effects on working-class girls' education, in widening but also restricting female opportunities, as will be outlined below. The latter highlights the considerable cultural variation in nineteenth-century Scotland – regional and linguistic, as well as religious. It also reveals the need to integrate Catholics, as the largest minority in nineteenth-century Scotland, into the examination of national identity. Thus, this study has found that the education of the Catholic community can not be omitted from consideration of the Scottish experience, at least from the middle of the nineteenth century, and certainly from the 1872 Education Act. The conclusion is that Catholic schooling should not be treated simply as a separate experience, isolated to the margins of 'national' history, and assumed to reflect a universal norm in which religious orders dominated. While these were certainly important in the education of middle-class and delinquent girls, as well as in teacher training, nuns in Scotland did not play as significant a role in the schooling of the working class in the later nineteenth century. As pointed out in chapter one, Catholics were outside the national system of education, but not totally cut off from the national community. Separate schools were to preserve and assert Catholic identity within a hostile community - a means of resisting assimilation while striving to gain acceptance by emulating the national educational ideal. The Catholic Church sought to inculcate a desire for education into its congregation, especially in the west-central belt where the immigrants were concentrated.

6.1: Room to Manoeuvre in Separate Spheres? Women and Scottish Education

Studies of female education have insisted that nineteenth-century Scotland was a patriarchal society. [5] However, this study cautions against easy generalisation, since it was a fractured patriarchy, with splits in the Presbyterian Church, and divisions

within the Catholic Church between natives and immigrants. All denominations agreed on women's domestic role, but all depended on women as their most faithful congregation. In practice, while women attended services in larger numbers than men, the differences were not great, at least among the middle classes, and men were heavily involved in the religious revivals, the Evangelical movement and the Disruption in the Church of Scotland, all of which may have enhanced male authority. In terms of formal, organised religion, as of education, men certainly exercised power and control, but women wielded considerable influence. Indeed, the emphasis in Evangelical circles was placed on family worship, while education for all was also seen as important for ensuring social stability and civilising the poor. There was a general belief that women were more pious than men, and that they possessed more tender and charitable natures, which made women ideal as teachers of infants.

As discussed in the second chapter, the Old (1790s) and New (1840s) Statistical Accounts both revealed that women had played a significant part in the basic education of the nation, outside of the parochial system. By the early nineteenth century, and notably around the time of the Disruption in the national Church, there was recognition of the role that women could play within the national system of education. [6] The 1872 Act, the subsequent great expansion of schooling (both Board and Catholic), and the influence of English practices (such as pupil teachers and gendered curricula) meant that women's importance for the education of the nation grew until they dominated the profession numerically. Indeed, Catholic schools became almost totally dependent on them. In order to preserve the distinctive nature of Scottish education, therefore, women had to be incorporated into the teaching profession. While there is little evidence of schoolmistresses opposing patriarchy, most appear to have assumed that it would not exclude them from the teaching profession. In contrast to the conclusions of Helen Corr, who neglects the Catholic experience and also assumes that Presbyterianism was particularly oppressive for women, this study finds that schoolmistresses were not just mouthpieces for patriarchal ideology, but rather worked within it and manipulated gender expectations, in the process reshaping, not just reinforcing, the educational tradition. [7]

Indeed, the tactics of schoolmistresses and female Board members were similar to those employed by feminists. Victorian feminists eulogised the redemptive role of women in society. They developed a service-orientated ideal which implied

that women had the major responsibility for the development of society. They preferred to concentrate on reforming aspects of the female condition, rather than argue in principle for equality between women and men. They championed the complementarity of the sexes. Conservative views of woman's natural sphere, moral role, and caring nature contributed to an ambivalence in Victorian feminism between the claims to sexual equality and to female moral superiority. Feminists rested their claims for reforms in the position of women on acceptance of the notion that each sex had a unique role. The home centred feminine values of the middle classes were to serve as the balance to the public, masculine emphasis on individualism. Female domesticity would provide the social cohesion and moral leaven necessary for a harmonious society. As Philippa Levine has argued, 'for many women committed to the fight for women's rights, the most effective weapon was not the total rejection of [the ideology of separate spheres] but rather a manipulation of its fundamental values', with the aim of domesticating the public sphere. [8]

Certainly, by the end of the nineteenth century, working-class women were being drawn, albeit in small numbers, into the trade unions and socialist organisations, where they experienced tensions between the perceived need for class solidarity and their experience of gender inequality. The labour movement generally adhered to the notion of separate spheres for the sexes, while trade unions were often hostile to women workers, who were seen as potential competitors for men's jobs. By then, however, there was considerable suspicion between the labour and feminist movements. Indeed, the leading English suffragist, Mrs Fawcett, opposed trade unions: Barbara Caine has noted the stark class divide between the match girls at Bryant and May who went on strike in 1889 for better pay and conditions, and Mrs Fawcett, who as a share holder opposed their action. [9]

Studies of nineteenth-century feminism in Britain tend to focus on the English experience, while the few studies of feminism in Scotland have, so far, concentrated on the suffrage movement. [10] The latter show that, while the movement in Scotland differed in significant respects from that in England, the ideology of equality and the rhetoric based on separate spheres (the notion of 'different but equal') was common to both. So too was the social composition of the feminist movement, which was overwhelmingly middle-class and Protestant, and tended to look down on poor Catholic women, especially immigrants, as having low morals and poor housekeeping

skills.

Hence, as this study has noted, religion and social class were key factors in influencing the position of women generally and the education of girls in particular. Whatever sympathy middle-class women might have had for their working-class counterparts, and however much they claimed to speak on behalf of their sex, feminist campaigns, not least in education, were based on assumptions of class divisions and hierarchy. Thus, the aim of Grace Paterson, who served on the Glasgow School Board from 1885 to 1906, and was a member of the West of Scotland Suffrage Society, was to help educate working-class girls for their future role as wives and mothers. [11]

There is an assumption that the Victorian ideal of female domesticity helped shape the curriculum in Scotland just as in England. [12] Local studies qualify such a generalisation, however. Whatever the rationale motivating curriculum planners and female reformers, sewing and knitting were often related more to the traditions and needs of the local economy, while the notion of separate spheres for the sexes, which lay behind the ideal of domesticity, did not apply either to the 'woman's town' of Dundee, or the women in crofting communities. Certainly, as children and adults, the sexes generally did different jobs, while household duties were seen as naturally female. Still, the logs show that girls were as involved in aspects of economic activity as boys.

Whatever the gendered aspects of the curriculum in Board schools, which will be discussed below, education for all, regardless of gender or class, was recognised as part of the national educational ideal, and one of the concerns surrounding the 1872 Act was that this would be lost. However imperfect, until then girls in the Lowlands had had a better chance of learning to read and sign their name than in England. In fact, that Act, with its expansion of public education and its compulsory clause, brought more girls into the national system and women into teaching. Whereas some women teachers had difficulties with male superiors, the impression from the school logs is of team work, albeit with the woman as the junior partner or understudy. Certainly, some headmasters appear to have acted in a dictatorial manner, as the previous chapter revealed. Yet while school boards seemed reluctant to discipline male teachers, women teachers both resisted oppressive superiors and complained to the board. The profession and the educational authorities were indeed weighted in

favour of the male teacher, which might have discouraged schoolmistresses from complaining. Yet the fact that some did, and that the male teacher did not always prevail, should caution against generalisations about patriarchy and female complicity in it. As noted in chapter five, female teachers manoeuvred within the male-dominated system.

Indeed, as has been argued above, far from challenging patriarchy, many feminists themselves manoeuvred within it, championing the ideology of domesticity and stretching the notion of the domestic sphere as far as possible. Nineteenth-century feminism based many of its campaigns, not least the entry of women into university and the professions, on the ideology of separate spheres. While this brought some gains for schoolmistresses, the school logs show that many were frustrated by the demands of domestic subjects thrust upon them and their female pupils, and were often condescending to, if not contemptuous of, the cookery teacher. An elite group of female educationalists, then, reinforced gender divisions both in the curriculum and the teaching profession by promoting domestic economy as an academic subject in Board schools and in teacher training colleges. Teaching home economics, however, never won parity of esteem with the male professions, nor in the nineteenth century with the feminised teaching profession, reflecting a cultural prejudice against vocational education in the 'democratic intellect'.

As also noted in chapter five, fear of the influence of English practices included concern over the low status of teaching in England, reflected in not only the predominance of women but also the high incidence of uncertificated teachers. There was a similar situation in Catholic schools in Scotland, which remained outside the national system. To differentiate the Scottish profession, and to preserve and improve its status, continuing importance was placed on both teacher training and, for male teachers especially, university attendance. The high status of teaching, the expansion of Board schools, and the paucity of alternative professional or white-collar posts open to women in Scotland ensured that they were attracted to the classrooms in considerable numbers, and that their salaries would remain considerably lower than those of the relatively scarce schoolmasters.

Not only were schoolmistresses paid less than their male counterparts, but the options and opportunities within the profession were also more limited, in

terms, for example, of what the former could teach and how far they could rise, at least in the large urban schools. This was partly due to the continuing influence of the parochial tradition, and partly to the efforts of feminists and female reformers to secure a place for women in the profession by promoting both a gendered curriculum and a gendered division of labour in the school. Nevertheless, women made career gains, including, by the end of the nineteenth century, the opportunity of university education. In 1877, the *Aberdeen Journal* had proposed that normal school training for masters move closer to the university and conjectured that: 'Whether the universities can with propriety undertake, in whole or in part, the training of mistresses also, is a much more difficult and far-reaching question.' [13]

Within 20 years, the universities in Scotland had opened up to women, and where possible female teachers took advantage of it. Indeed, a few female teachers had attended university before the 1890s. [14] By 1900, the Presbyterian colleges were training 1000 students, of whom around half (248 men and 198 women) were attending university, while from 1898, a few students at the Catholic Training College of Notre Dame attended university classes in Glasgow. [15] The latter, as Marjorie Cruikshank has pointed out, came from the poorest sections of the community. [16] Whatever the personal gain to the schoolmistress, this was regarded as beneficial for the teaching profession. That a minority of female teachers could now achieve a university education was seen as one way of ensuring that teaching, by then dominated by women in terms of numbers, retained its professional status in keeping with the educational tradition.

Thus, this study has confirmed the need to beware of generalisations about female oppression and self-sacrifice, which lead to over-simplified dismissal of that tradition as patriarchal. The argument here is similar to Leslie Ann Orr Macdonald's thesis on women and Presbyterianism: patriarchy developed, largely through the initiatives of women, to allow them space to manoeuvre. [17] Neither in the church nor the school were women simply submissive to male authority figures. That they did not insist on equality should not lead us to dismiss them as dupes of patriarchy; that they did not just accept but negotiated with patriarchy undermines any generalisation about female passivity. The education system, like the churches, certainly incorporated women in order to reinforce the established

order. However, in the process the original patriarchal ideal was modified and even subverted.

6.2: What to do with Our Girls? Gender and the Curriculum

At the end of the period under discussion here, the Education (Scotland) Act of 1901 raised the school-leaving age to 14, and the minimum age of employment to twelve. There could be exemptions for the intervening two years, on condition that the child attended continuation classes. The curriculum for the final two years of elementary, or primary, schooling for those who would leave at 14 stipulated household management for girls only. Certainly, a gendered curriculum was not new, as SSPCK records show: its second royal patent of 1738 stipulated that SSPCK schools should offer elementary and vocational education, with the latter identified as 'husbandry and housewifery'. [18] In the parish schools before 1872, however, the emphasis was on book-learning, particularly, but not exclusively, for the talented boy. Hence the continuing concern over the influence of English curricular ideas and teaching practices, as expressed a decade later:

> No step ought to be taken that would operate in the way of keeping out of our universities the sons of poor men … We cannot afford to lose this source of national strength. [19]

While the opportunity of attending university was widened in the later nineteenth century to include girls, government policy and feminist campaigners insisted on the need for a domestic education for working-class girls, at the expense of more academic subjects, which prejudiced their chances of university education later. The need for a domestic education was not only related to the ideology of separate spheres, nor to the assumed ignorance of working-class mothers. It also reflected job opportunities open to their daughters, and assumptions about domestic service as respectable employment. Hence in an article on 'What to do with our girls' in *The School Monthly* published at the beginning of 1893, a girl's proper sphere was deemed to be:

> Undoubtedly the household, and she is a wise mother who carefully trains her daughter in household work in all its branches – cooking, cleaning, washing, dressing, mending, etc. – the better to fit her for superintending a home of her own at some future time. This is not all the work our girls must undertake. There are many families so placed that they can afford to keep their girls at home, but it is of the great mass that we have to speak. The great majority of girls have to work for a living, and, seeing this is so, it is well that due consideration should be given to their proper employment. [20]

Thus, the editor accepted that most working-class girls would enter paid employment. He saw occupations such as millinery, flower-making, and dress-making as suitable to their sex, with type-writing as appropriate to both sexes. [21]

Another occupation suitable to both sexes was that of pupil teacher, though again the curriculum and examinations differed. Generally, it was the daughters of the skilled workers and tradesmen who became pupil teachers. Girls, but not boys, took domestic economy, while the examination of boys in arithmetic and mathematics revealed a much wider and more demanding curriculum. [22] Boys were examined in subjects from which girls were exempt, such as algebra, and the expectation was that girls would be more leniently examined than boys, implying lower expectations of the former. Moreover, the specimen questions provided in *The School Monthly* for March 1893 showed how basic the domestic economy syllabus was. [23] Yet there was concern by the late nineteenth century that female pupil teachers were trying too hard, while their male counterparts were underachieving. Moreover, where teachers compared the performance of girls and boys in shared subjects, it was generally agreed that, attendance permitting, girls tended to do better. Thus, at Hanover St. School in Aberdeen, the HMI reported in January 1896 that:

> The class subjects professed were well done by all sections and exceptionally by some, but it was observed that the girls generally showed less intelligence than the boys, which is not the usual experience. [24]

Perhaps the females tried harder than the males because there were fewer job opportunities open to them.

In 1876, the SED issued regulations prohibiting girls from being examined in any Specific Subject unless they also took domestic economy. There was no such regulation for boys. Scottish pupils took more Specific Subjects than the English or Welsh, but with this regulation girls had to be presented in domestic economy, generally regarded as more of a vocational than a 'higher' academic subject, despite feminist efforts to improve its status. As a subject, moreover, domestic economy was not only gender specific, it was also class-based, since it was directed exclusively at the poor. Certainly, most working-class women were expected to marry, and most would have long periods in paid employment before marriage, with a significant minority continuing after marriage, and with large numbers in seasonal employment, while domestic service remained a key employer for women, notably in Edinburgh. [25]

Yet, as noted above, the rationale behind the insistence on domestic economy and related subjects was not simply to make good servants and housewives. A clear aim was to reform the working-class family. On the one hand, school was to make up for deficiencies in working-class mothers, due to their assumed ignorance and the need for them, where possible, to earn money outside of the home. On the other hand, working-class mothers were thought to have too much (bad) influence on their children, often making the decisions in determining family priorities. Girls were expected to help, and sometimes substitute for, mothers on a regular and frequent basis, especially in country districts where women could be seasonally employed on the land. So girls were absent for domestic reasons, when the education authorities as well as female reformers and feminists assumed they could receive a proper training in such a role only in school.

There were indeed gender inequalities in Scottish education, but there were also inequalities of social class, while the experience of Board schools differed between regions and between town and country. The larger urban centres, notably Glasgow, Edinburgh and to an extent Aberdeen, provided more opportunities for bright working-class girls whose parents could afford to keep them in school. Such girls came to dominate the pupil-teacher system. It was more difficult in smaller

urban centres, especially those with close links to the rural hinterland, such as Perth and Dumfries. Nevertheless, working-class girls here were generally in a better position than those in more remote rural areas, particularly in the Highlands and Islands, and arguably than those in the textile town of Dundee, with its half-time system of education and its high demand for female and child – again, especially female – labour. Yet as chapter four has shown, there were at least a few lassies of parts in the Highlands.

Those working-class girls who could remain in school until the Sixth Standard benefited both from the 1872 Act and from the efforts to preserve elements of the educational tradition, in particular the teaching of 'secondary' subjects. They also gained from English practices, notably the pupil-teacher system. Where their curriculum differed from that of the boys was the result of a combination of English influences, government policies, and various pressure groups, including feminists and eugenicists. The tradition of mixed-sex schools may have prevented the curriculum for working-class girls from being even more narrowly domestic.

The needs of the family determined the attendance patterns of sons as well as daughters, but school logs and Board minutes show more concern for the non-attendance of the former, reflected in the fact that truancy was seen as an overwhelmingly male problem. Both boys and girls stayed away from school to help the family, but boys were more likely to miss school for what were regarded as unproductive, and non-family reasons. As for the parents, girls were seen as more naturally useful about the house, but decisions on attendance were generally based on the family's financial needs and the local economic context: a mix of gender expectations and employment opportunities. While this generally continued into the twentieth century, girls' experiences of education nevertheless changed, though they continued to differ from those of boys. Thus, female attendance in the Borders improved in the late nineteenth century, whereas the half-time system of education persisted in Dundee which, as pointed out above, affected girls considerably more than it did boys.

Female educational campaigners ensured that working-class girls received a different and academically inferior schooling to middle-class girls. Sewing loomed large in the schooling of working-class girls, especially after 1872 when the grant

depended on it. Whereas middle-class Scots resisted English practices and attitudes, particularly the concept of elementary education for the working class, they generally agreed there was a need for a gender-specific curriculum for girls. It was the teaching profession which resented the demands and constraints this placed on Board schools. At the same time, feminists and female reformers championed domestic subjects both to provide women with careers in teaching and to influence working-class homes and morals. Middle-class girls' education improved and widened the range of suitable employment open to them; working-class girls' schooling also improved, yet they were still seen primarily as future servants and mothers. Middle-class girls could be incorporated into the educational ideal, but working-class girls were to know their place, and be taught how to fulfil its duties.

Throughout the Board schools, there was resistance from teachers, parents and female pupils to domestic education, and notably sewing, not because of any disagreement with the domestic ideal, but because it undermined the traditional emphasis on academic learning. This was not the case in Catholic schools, however, where clergy and teachers sought to raise standards in the homes of the poor, and so gain respect and acceptance in the wider community. The Church concentrated its educational efforts on the west of Scotland and the Irish immigrants, even opening the first Catholic teacher training institution at Dowanhill, Glasgow, in 1895. Interestingly, it was for girls, which gave a few at least the opportunity to improve their position and enter a respectable profession. It also reflected the Catholic schools' need for staff who could expect relatively low salaries, compared to their Board counterparts, as well as the scarcity of male Catholics as both pupil teachers and schoolmasters. Indeed, even at the end of the century, Catholic schools in Scotland relied heavily on female pupil teachers and uncertificated mistresses. It is interesting that whereas in the Lowlands, domestic economy was seen as a means of helping Catholics integrate into the national community, in the Gaelic-speaking parts of the Highlands, that function was to be performed by a schooling in the English language (though Gaelic became a Specific Subject in 1886).

Girls in Glasgow's Board schools had, at least potentially, greater opportunities than in most of the rest of the country, while there were more chances of Specific Subjects, including cookery, open to girls in the Borders than

in the Highlands and Islands. Generally, poverty and the continuing importance of agriculture meant that girls and boys outside the central industrial belt shared a common experience of outdoor labour for much of the year, and only a brief (winter) season in school, though before attendance was made compulsory in 1872, boys were more likely to return than girls. By the latter part of the century, girls were staying on longer at school than boys, though again there were regional variations depending on the local economy. Where there was a high demand for child and female labour, whether in the textile industry or on the farms, the curriculum was generally limited to the basics, which suggests a certain equality in the educational experience of girls and boys. Generally, though sewing was ubiquitous, there was less emphasis on domestic subjects in country districts than in cities. Yet agriculture was a vocational subject intended for boys only, despite the fact that female labour was essential on croft and farm. Boys were taught sewing and knitting in some schools, but no boy appears to have been offered domestic economy.

While the gendered curriculum allowed more women to enter the teaching profession, there was still resistance from teachers, including mistresses, to the prominence which government and female educationalists sought to accord to domestic subjects in working-class girls' curriculum. This was partly due to the continuing preference for mixed-sex education in Board schools, and the necessity for it in Catholic schools, which, whatever the fears for morality and manners, was still seen as academically advantageous for girls. The case studies show that, in most regions, there was resistance to sewing in Board schools, or at least to the amount of time allocated to it, which contributed to irregular attendance of girls. It was not accepted as an industrial subject, even for the domestic service sector. As discussed above, while sewing was deemed an industrial, or vocational subject, it was to serve more as a foundation for female domesticity and a substitute for the presumed inadequacies of working-class mothers, than as a preparation for a trade or for domestic service. The Victorian period has been seen as redefining femininity, but as resistance to domestic education from pupils, parents and teachers reveals, that definition was neither simply nor passively accepted. The regional studies show, too, that it was

differentiated, depending on the local economy, most notably in Dundee and the Highlands and Islands.

6.3: Female Education and the Democratic Intellect in Victorian Scotland

In any history of nineteenth-century Scotland, it is difficult not to allow Glasgow and the west-central belt to dominate, particularly because, as pointed out in chapter three, Glasgow itself accounted for a fifth of all Scottish children. Moreover, developments in the curriculum as well as the centralising tendencies of the Scotch Education Department give an impression of uniformity which encourages easy generalisation about a male-dominated education system. As the title of chapter four insists, however, there was much more to the experience of education in the nineteenth century, not only before but also after the 1872 Act, than Glasgow's problems, and indeed successes, indicated. Whatever the limitations of school logs and Board minute books, they underline the variety of experience in working-class education, not simply between urban and rural, industrial and agricultural, but also in different agricultural and diverse urban contexts, and in the relationships between the towns and cities, and their rural hinterland.

What was held in common was poverty and the priority given to the needs of the family. The logs reveal how great an impact these two factors had on the schooling of working-class children, boys and girls. David Limond has acknowledged the 'markedly different occupational expectations' of girls and boys in the countryside, but also postulated that the educational experience of poor boys and girls did not differ radically. [26] This study suggests otherwise: that the gendered nature of the curriculum, attendance patterns, and parental and child expectations, combined to differentiate girls' and boys' experiences of schooling in both countryside and towns, usually at the expense of the former. Further, where, especially by the late nineteenth century, girls were more likely than boys to stay on at school, they were also more restricted in job opportunities post-education. Graham Smith's study of household and gender in Dundee, between 1890 and 1940, confirms both the importance of the local economy and the different experiences of girls and boys: in 1901, for example, compared to Glasgow, Dundee had proportionally three times as many boys, but five times as

The myth of the democratic intellect served such a function in Victorian Scotland when national confidence was challenged by English influences, Irish immigration, and divisions within Presbyterianism. Indeed, the last meant that the Church of Scotland could no longer claim to be the voice of the nation, so that the educational tradition became an even more important means of national cohesion. Moreover, while Catholic schools remained outside of the national system, they strove to emulate the educational ideal as far as the poverty of the community could allow. Thus whereas Catholics strove to resist assimilation, they also sought integration within the wider national community.

Moreover, as pupil teachers and schoolmistresses in both Catholic and Board schools, women played a crucial role in the continuation of the educational tradition. Of course, there was conflict as well as diversity, and all of the influences on the schooling of working-class girls concurred on the expectations and assumptions regarding gender roles, and especially women's place in the home and within the national community. Nevertheless, the conclusion is that women played a significant part in the educational tradition, even if not one of equality with men.

Thus, there were still gender and class differences in the experiences of education, and men continued to dominate the educational system; but more than space had been made for girls and women in the classrooms. Indeed, the Board and, even more, the Catholic schools, by the end of the nineteenth century had come to rely predominantly on women teachers and female pupil teachers, while girls were staying on longer than boys. Women contributed not simply to the preservation of the educational myth, but also to the reshaping of it, so that it included girls and women, thus giving substance to the claim of universality, and allowing at least a minority of working-class girls to benefit from the meritocracy.

Notes to Chapter 1

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3 For a general discussion, see N. Yuval-Davis & F. Anthias (eds.), *Woman-Nation-State* (Basingstoke, 1989), pp.9-11.

4 Helen Corr, 'Dominies and Domination: Schoolteachers, Masculinity and Women in 19th Century Scotland', *History Workshop Journal*, Autumn 1995, Issue 40, pp.151-164.

5 Neil McCormick, review of *A Legal History of Scotland*, vol.3, by David M. Walker, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 9 Feb., 1996, p.3.

6 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1983).

7 See for example Alice Brown, David McCrone and Lindsay Paterson, *Politics and Society in Scotland* (London, 1996), pp.50, 205; Bernard Crick, 'Essay on Britishness', *Scottish Affairs*, winter 1992, no.2, p.73; Graeme Morton, 'Unionist-Nationalism: The Historical Construction of Scottish National Identity, Edinburgh 1830-1860', PhD, Edinburgh University, 1993, p.10. Crick's essay is a critique of Linda Colley's *Britons: The Forging of a Nation 1707-1837* (London, 1994). All references take issue with the thesis of Tom Nairn, and indeed Ernest Gellner, that nationalism needs a state, which implies the superiority of political over cultural nationalism. See T. Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain* (London, 1977); E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983).

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11 'Whither Scottish History?' Proceedings of the 1993 Strathclyde University Conference, in *The Scottish Historical Review*, April 1994, Special Issue, vol.LXXlll, 1, no.195:1

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18 'Whither Scottish History?', p.97.

19 *Ibid.*, p.35.

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28 *Ibid*, p.43. For the argument that rapid urbanisation and industrialisation prompted the crisis in national identity in the early nineteenth century, see Richard J. Finlay, *A Partnership for Good? Scottish Politics and the Union since 1880* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp.15-16.

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10 Elspeth King, *The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement* (Glasgow, 1978); Elspeth King, 'The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement', ch.6 in *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945* edited by Breitenbach and Gordon; Leah Leneman, *A Guid Cause:The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1991). Leneman convincingly disputes the facile distinction, made by James D. Young, *Women and Popular Struggles: a history of Scottish and English working-class women 1500-1984* (Edinburgh, 1985), which explains the suffrage issue in Scotland in terms of social class, but in England in terms of women as a whole.

11 *The Glasgow Herald*, 9.4.1885.

12 Paterson & Fewell (eds.), *Girls in their Prime*, chapter 1.

13 *Aberdeen Journal*, 3.1.1877, p.5.

14 See for example ACA/AT5/8/1 Marywell St. Public School log entry for 15.6.1883.

15 Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1900-01, p.17.

16 Marjorie Cruikshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland* (London, 1970), pp.120, 123.

17 Leslie Anne Orr Macdonald, 'Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland c.1830 to c.1930', PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1995.

18 George Pratt, *School Life in Old Scotland. From Contemporary Sources* (Edinburgh, 1925), pp.92, 95.

19 *The Kilmarnock Standard*, 14.1.1882.

20 *The School Monthly: A Magazine for Scholars and Teachers* edited by Andrew Brown,

January 1893, vol.1, no.1, p.3.

21 *Ibid.*, p.5, and March 1893, vol.1, no.3, p.26.

22 *Ibid.*, February 1893, vol.1, no.2, p.14.

23 *Ibid.*, March 1893, vol.1, no.3, p.29.

24 Aberdeen City Archives (ACA), GR63/A32/a/1 Hanover St. School (formerly Albion St. School), log entry for Jan. 1896.

25 See M. Anderson & D.J. Morse, 'The People', in *People and Society in Scotland. Volume II, 1830-1914* edited by W. Hamish Fraser & R.J. Morris (Edinburgh, 1990), p.35, for regional median age at marriage, 1861 to 1911. See also David Moody, *Scottish Family History* (London, 1988).

26 Limond, 'The Female Experience of Schooling in Scotland, 1872-1945', p.79.

27 Graham R. Smith, 'The Making of a Woman's Town: Household and Gender in Dundee, 1890-1940', PhD, University of Stirling, 1996, pp.74, 95.

28 George Schöpflin, 'The Function of Myth and A Taxonomy of Myths', ch.2 in *Myths and Nationhood* edited by Geoffrey Hosking and George Schöpflin (London, 1997), p.35.

Bibliography

1: Primary Sources

1.1: Manuscript and Other

1.1.1: School Log Books and School Board Minute Books By Area

Aberdeen: (Aberdeen City Archives)

School Log Books

Aberdeen Grammar School 1881-1906	GR6S/A58/1/1
Albion Street School (1879-93, then Hanover Street School, 1894-1910)	GR6S/A32/1/1
Ashley Road 1888-1929	GR6S/A4/1/2
Bridge of Don School (later Academy) 1895-1917	GR6S/A10/1/1
Buchsburn Public School (formerly Newhills Free Church Congregational School) 1864-1907	GR6S/A12/1/1
Causewayend (1)1877-1892	GR6S/A15/1/1
(2) 1893-1928	GR6S/A15/1/2
Central 1894-1915	GR6S/A34/1/1
Cove (1) 1875-1895	GR6S/A18/1/1
(2) 1895-1910	GR6S/A18/1/2
Culter 1873-1906	GR6S/A20/1/1
Dyce Infant & Female School 1877-1890, then Dyce Village 1890-1896	GR6S/A28/1/3
Dyce Village 1896-1921	GR6S/A28/1/4
Ferryhill 1877-1920	GR6S/A30/1/1
Frederick Street (formerly Dr. Bell's) School 1875-1900	AT5/2/1
King Street (1) 1883-1893	GR6S/A43/1/1
(2) 1893-1904	GR6S/A43/1/2
Kirkhill 1875-1892	GR6S/A46/1/1
Marywell Street Infant Dept. 1874-1913	AT5/8/1
Porthill (Boys) 1864-1872	AT5/11/1
Ruthrieston 1895-1910	GR6S/11/1/1
St. Andrew Street 1874-1894	AT5/16/1
St. Clement Street (Infants) 1887-1919	AT5/18/1

St. Joseph's Girls' School 1896-1902	GR6S/A61/1/1
St. Joseph's (formerly Queen Cross) R.C. 1989-1929	GR6S/A59/1/1
St. Paul Street 1874-1911	AT5/22/1
Skene Square (formerly St. John's) 1864-1899	GR6S/A65/1/1
Skene Street 1877-1922	GR6S/A66/a/2
Stoneywood 1880-1918	GR6S/A69/1/1
Victoria Road 1878-1896	GR6S/A76/1/2
Woodside (1) 1863-1875	GR6S/A81/1/1
(2) 1875-1902	GR6S/A81/1/2

School Board Minutes

Aberdeen	ASB1/1-16

Ayr County: (Strathclyde Regional Archives, hereafter SRA)

School Log Books	CO3/10/7:
Allanton, Galston Parish, 1874-1922	CO3/10/7/1/1
Bank Street, Irvine	CO3/10/7/3/1
Dalmellington (1) Log book 1874-1900	CO3/10/7/20/1
(2) Infants; Dept.	CO3/10/7/20/2
Glenbuck 1877-1897	CO3/10/7/29/1
Greenhills 1871-1914	CO3/10/7/30/1
High Street Kilmarnock, 1873-1913	CO3/10/7/31/1
Kilmarnock Glencairn 1873-1898	CO3/10/7/37/1
Rowallan 1875-1927	CO3/10/7/50/1
St. Mary's R.C. School Largs, 1895-1927	CO3/10/7/52/1
Saltcoats (1) 1876-1897	CO3/10/7/54/1
(2) (with evening school) 1894-1910	CO3/10/7/54/2

School Board Minute Books.	CO3/10/2
Ardrossan, 1873-1895	CO3/10/2/25
1883-1889	CO3/10/2/26

Cathcart: (SRA)

Parish Board Minutes, 3 vols., 1873-1903	DED/1/2/1
& Committee Minutes, 6 vols., 1873-1903	DED/1/2/2

Dumfries and Kirkcudbright: (Ewart Library, Dumfries)

School Log Books

1.Dumfries

Auldgirth 1873-1924	D5/118/1
Dumfries Ladies' Benevolent School 1863-1899	D5/95/1
Glenesslin 1874-1904	D5/75/1
Holywood 1864-1902	D5/81/1
Kirkconnel 1883-1890	D5/99/2
Mennock 1876-1909	D5/86/1
Middlebie 1873-1918	D5/87/1
Sibbaldbie 1873-1923	D5/89/1
Templand 1873-1913	D5/92/1
Waterbeck Female School 1871-1901	D5/114/1

2. Kirkcudbright

Crossmichael 1875-1919	K5/150/1
Dalbeattie, St. Peter's R.C. 1874-1913	K5/151/1
Dalry 1873-1923	K5/156/1
Dundrennan 1873-1904	K5/164/1
Glenlochar 1874-1907	K5/84/1
Laurieston 1874-1904	K5/160/1
Stroanfeggan 1874-1902	K5/77/1
Townhead 1874-1909	K5/79/1
Whinniegate 1865-1884	K5/82/1
Whinniegate 1885-1902	K5/82/2

School Board Minute Books

1. Dumfries

Annan 1873-1876	D5/3/1
Annan 1882-1892	D5/3/2
Canonbie 1873-1895	D5/8/1
Dumfries Burgh 1872-1882	D5/15/1
1882-1893	D5/15/2
1893-1900	D5/15/3
Dumfries Landward 1873-1878	D5/16/1
1885-1892	D5/16/3
Johnstone 1873-1896	D5/31/1
Kirkmichael 1890-1919	D5/35/1
Moffat 1873-1883	D5/41/2
1884-1897	D5/41/3
Sanquhar 1873-1896	D5/49/1
Tinwald 1873-1897	D5/51/1
Westerlie 1873-1919	D5/56/1

2. Kirkcudbright

Balmaclellan 1872-1897	K5/3/1
Buittle 1873-1904	K5/7/1
Crossmichael 1873-1905	K5/10/1
Kelton 1873-1897	K5/14/1

Dumfriesshire: (West Register House, Edinburgh)

Mowswald School Board Minute Book 1873-1919	CO9/2/1

Dunbarton County: (SRA)

School Log Books	CO4/6/5
Campsie Glen 1876-1935	CO4/6/5/4/1
Kirkintilloch Oswald/Townhead, 1893-1894	CO4/6/5/3/8

School Board Minute Books and Related Material	CO4/6/1
Arrochar (1) 1873-1887	CO4/6/1/1/1
(2) 1888-1899	CO4/6/1/1/2
Helensburgh Ragged School Trustees 1860-1870	CO4/6/5/1/1
Kirkintilloch Burgh (1) 1873-1883	CO4/6/1/9/1
(2) 1883-1889	CO4/6/1/9/2
(3) 1889-1896	CO4/6/1/9/3
(4) 1896-1902	CO4/6/1/9/4
Kirkintilloch Parish (1) 1873)	CO4/6/1/10/1
(2) 1894-1911	CO4/6/1/10/2
Kirkintilloch Oswald/Townend (Boys and Girls),	
Admission Register 1884-1895	CO4/6/5/3/1
Lenzie Combination 1885-1901	CO4/6/1/11/1
Rosneath (1) 1873-1896	CO4/6/1/15/1
(2) 1986-1908	CO4/6/1/15/2

Dundee and Tayside: (Dundee City Archives/Tayside Regional Archives)

NB. Not classified at time of consultation.

School Log Books

Ancrum Road 1875-1910

Ancrum Road Infants' Dept. 1887-1927

Butterburn 1875-1909

Cowgate 1889-1909

Cowgate (Half Time) 1892-1901

Drumgeith 1874-1908

Dudhope 1875-1919

Hilltown 1874-76/Clepington 1876-1900

Hubter Street/Mitchell Street 1879-1907

Lochee Sessional/Liff Road 1864-1901

Rosebank 1886-1909

St. Andrew's R.C. Evening Continuation Classes (Girls) 1872-1927

St. Martin's Episcopal 1874-1881 and 1881-1888

St. Mary's R.C. 1867-1894
St. Stephen's R.C. 1854-1887
Victoria Road 1874-1915

Edinburgh: (Edinburgh Central Library) Class Number		YLF1135
Canonmills Public School		YLF1135 C22
(1) 1880-1889	Accession C73/55	
(2) 1890-1895	C73/56	
(3) 1896-1901	C73/57	
Castlehill 1888-1905	Accession C73161	YLF1135 C35
Couper Street (Infants) 1890-1925		YLF1135 C85
Couper Street (Mixed) 1890-1909		YLF1135 C88
Dean 1886-1889		YLF1135 D28
Duddingston 1874-1912		YLF1135 D84
Duncan Place, Leith 1864-1892		YLF1135 D91
Gardheads School (Infants) 1876-1913		YLF1135 Y27
Gorgie 1871-1928		YLF1135 G66
Liberton 1873-1894		YLF1135 L69
Lorne Street, Leith 1876-1914		YLF1135 L87
North Canongate:		YLF1135 C22
(1) 1879-1888	Accession C73204	
(2) 1888-1898	C73205	
(3) 1898-1926	C73206	
St. Bernard's		YLF1135 B52
(1) Infants 1877-1892	Accession C73212	
(2) Public School 1886-1896	C73212	
St. Columba's R.C. 1896-1922		YLF1135 C72
St. James' Episcopal School, Broughton Street, Edinburgh, 1890-1905		YLF1135 J27E
St. James' Episcopal School, Leith 1896-1915		YLF1135 J27L
St. Leonard's 1888-1899		YLF1135 L58
St. Paul's 1864-1887 (changed to St. Leonard's 1873)		YLF1135 P33

Torpichen Street 1888-1902	YLF1135 T68

School Board Minute Books and Related Material

Edinburgh School Board Minutes 1877-1900	YL 353
Edinburgh School Board Press Cuttings, vol.1, 1877-91	YLA 659

Glasgow: (SRA)

School Log Books and Admission Registers	DED/7 and SR10
Abbotsford 1889-1905	DED7/1/1/1
Abbotsford Admission Reg. Girls 1896-1917	DED7/1/3/1
Adelphi Street 1892-1918	SR10/3/526/1/1
Adelphi Street Admission Register Girls 1892-1899	SR10/3/526/2/13
Albert 1876-1897	DED7/3/1/1
Albert, Reports of Pupils Attendances (1) 1878-1888	DED7/3/3/1
(2) 1888-1899	DED7/3/3/2
Alexandra Parade 1894-1909	SR10/3/531/1/1
Alexandra Parade Admissions Register 1894-1899	SR10/3/531/2/1
Annette St. (formerly Govanhill Public School) 1886-190	DED7/7/1/1
Annette St. Admission Reg. (Girls) 1886-1928	DED7/7/3/1
Annfield 1882-1905	DED7/8/1/1
Baillieston 1871-1894	SR10/3/549/3/1
Barrowfield (1) 1875-1886	DED7/16/1/1
(2) 1886-1897	DED7/16/1/2
Bellahouston Academy 1885-1905	DED7/18/1/1
Bellgrove 1874-1879	DED7/20A/1/1
Broomloan (1) 1872-1889	DED7/29/1/1
(2) 1889-1907	DED7/29/1/2
Burgh 1870-1910	SR10/3/574/1/1
Campbellfield (1) 1873-1979	DED7/35A/1/1
(2) 1879-1906	DED7/35A/1/2
City Public (Boys)	DED7/44/1
City Public (Girls)	DED7/44/2

Dalmarnock (formerly Calton Parish Sessional, then	
Queen Mary St., merged with Dalmarnock 1958)1888-1914	DED7/56/1/1
Dennistoun 1883-1907	DED7/58/1/1
Dovehill (1) 1877-1886	DED7/60/1/1
(2) 1896-1905	DED7/60/1/3
Dowanhill 1896-1917	DED7/61/1/1
Drumchapel (1) 1873-1875	DED7/61A/1/1
(2) 1875-1893	DED7/61A/1/2
Eastmuir 1881-1914	SR10/3/626/1/1
Eastpark 1896-1912	SR10/3/803/4/1
Fairfield (formerly St. Mary's Hall Public School), Govan	
(1) 1876-1894	DED7/73/1/1
(2) 1895-1903	DED7/73/1/2
Finnieston 1864-1902	DED7/74/1/1
Gairbraid (formerly, Eastfield, to June 1899)	DED7/76/1/1
George Street (transferred to Dovehill 1885) 1873-1885	DED7/81C/1/1
Gorbals (formerly Kingston) (1) 1874-1885	DED7/86/1/1
(2) 1885-1905	DED7/86/1/2
Govan 1877-1884	SR10/3/667/6/1
Hallside 1892-1901	SR10/3/657/1/1
High School for Girls (1) Garnethill Public School 1882-93	DED7/96/1
(2) High School for Girls 1895-1906	DED7/96/2
(3) Letter Book 1892-94	DED7/96/4
(4) Letter Book 1894-95	DED7/96/5
(5) Letter Book 1895-98	DED7/96/6
(6) Letter Book 1898-1901	DED7/96/7
Hillhead 1885-1905	SR10/3/662/6/1
Holycross 1882-1914	DED7/103/1/1
John Street (1) 1883-1897	DED7/109/1/1
(2) 1897-1913	DED7/109/1/2
Kelvinbridge 1864-1896	DED7/113/1/1
Kennedy Street (1) 1875-1888	DED7/115/1/1

(2) 1888-1907	DED7/115/1/2
Kennedy Street Admissions and Withdrawals Registers,	
Boys and Girls (1) 1871884	DED7/115/2/1
(2) 1884-1892	DED7/115/2/2
Kent Road 1884-1898	DED7/116/1/1
Keppochhill 1878-1903	DED7/117/1/1
Kinning Park 1876-1898	DED7/121A/1/1
Langside (formerly Crossmyloof) 1877-1892	DED7/129/1/1
Langside (formerly Crossmyloof) Evening School 1894-1900	DED7/129/2/1
Lorne Street 1894-1903	DED7/135/1/1
Maryhill (combined in 1884 with Church Street	
Amalgamated School) (1) 1875-1883	DED7/139/1/1
(2) 1883-1884	DED7/139/1/2
[Church Street] (3) 1876-1884	DED7/139/2/1
[Amalgamated School] (4) 1884-1918	DED7/139/3/1
Milton Street (formerly Stirling Street) 1874-1895	DED7/143/1/1
Milton Street Evening School 1894-1907	DED7/143/2/1
Mount Vernon 1876-1897	SR10/3/586/3/1
Napiershall (1) 1869-1890	DED7/149/1/1
(2) 1890-1905	DED7/149/1/2
Our Lady & St. Margaret's (1) 1875-1889	DED7/161/2/1
(2) 1889-1917	DED7/161/1/2
Parkhead 1864-1901	DED7/163B/1/1
Petershill 1888-1914	DED7/166/1/1
Rockvilla (1) 1870-1876	DED7/176A/1/1
(2) 1876-1894	DED7/176A/1/2
Rouston (formerly St. Rollox) 1864-1893	DED7/180/1
Ruchazie (formerly Garthamloch) 1864-1906	DED7/181/1
Rutland Crescent (1) 1884-1893	DED7/182B/1/1
(2) 1893-1905	DED7/182B/1/2
St. Aloysius' (Girls) (Port Dundas) 1875-1911	DED7/188/1/1
St. Aloysius' (Springburn) 1879-1910	DED7/189/1/1

St. Alphonsus R.C. 1898-1921 (Girls) 1898-1921	DED7/190/3
St. Alphonsus Evening School	SR10/3/922/3/1
St. Andrew's Girls 1888-1923	DED7/192/2/1
St. George's Road 1883-1895	DED7/217/1
St. John's (Girls) 1893-1898	DED7/222/2/1
St. John's Girls' Evening School 1899-1902	DED7/222/4/1
St. Mary's (Calton, Girls) 1896-1908	SR10/3/894/2/1
St. Michael's 1877-1885	SR10/3/896/1/1
St. Patrick's (Girls) 1890-1923	SR10/3/904/2/1
Shettleston (1) 1874-1889	DED7/280/1
(2) 1889-1911	DED7/280/2
Springbank 1884-1905	DED7/281A/1/1
Springburn 1875-1898	DED7/282/1
Springfield 1883-1895	DED7/283/1/1
Stonelaw (Rutherglen) 1886-1901	SR10/3/817/1/1
Thomson Street (1) 1875-1892	SR10/3/931/1/1
(2) 1893-1903	SR10/3/931/1/3
Admissions Registers (1) 1875-1883	SR10/3/931/2/1
(2) 1883-1928	SR10/3/931/2/2
Townhead Evening School 1893-1916	DED7/296/2/1
Tureen Street 1876-1958	DED7/296A/1
Washington Street 1890-1912	DED7/299/1/1
Wellpark (1) 1864-1877	DED7/301A/1/1
(2) 1877-1902	DED7/301A/1/2
Whitehill (Girls) 1883-1891	SR10/3/953/1/1
(Girls' Admission Register) 1883-1891	SR10/3/953/2/1
Wolseley Street (1) 1884-1885	DED7/308/1/1
(2) 1885-1895	DED7/308/1/2
Woodside 1882-1909	SR10/3/962/1/1
(Girls' Admission Register) 1882-1895	SR10/3/962/3/1
Queenspark	SR10/3/778/1/1
Queenspark (extracts) 1873-1974	SR10/3/778/1/4

Queenspark Evening Classes 1898-1903	SR10/3/778/5

School Board Minute Books and Related Materials

Board Minutes 8 Sept. 1884-15 Dec. 1890	D-ED1/1/1/3
Committee Mins., D-ED1/1/2/1-3 May 1873-Feb. 1889	D-ED1/1/2/1-3
Miscellaneous Min. Book. 22 Nov. 1876 to Nov. 1891	D-ED1/1/2/4
Register of Pupil Teachers No.1, 1 Nov. 1875 - 1 Mar. 1879	D-ED1/1/18(1)

School Board of Glasgow General Summary of Work, 1873-1903.

Govan: (SRA)

Parish School Board Minutes and Proceedings, 1882-1902;	
Mins of the Committee on Secondary Education, 1893-1919	D-ED/1/4/3/1

Highland Council Archives: (HCA)

Argyll County: (CA)

School Log Books

Acharacle 1874-1900	HCA/CA/5/3/2a
Duiskay 1882-1921	HCA/CA/5/3/5a
Glenetive 1877-1903	HCA/CA/5/3/7a
Strontian 1874-1905	HCA/CA/5/3/16a

Inverness County: (CI)

School Log Books

Aberchalder (Glengarry) 1889-1909	HCA/CI/5/3/1a
Abernethy 1871-1913	HCA/CI/5/3/2
Achnarrow 1877-94	HCA/CI/5/3/4a
Aird 1891-1907	HCA/CI/5/3/6a
Ardersier 1873-1912	HCA/CI/5/3/124a
Arisaig R.C. 1873-1902	HCA/CI/5/3/133
Braes 1892-1920	HCA/CI/5/3/14a
Breakish (a) 1877-94	
(b) 1894-1925	HC/CI/5/3/15

Canna 1878-1916	HCA/CI/5/3/140a
Dalarossie 1877-94	HCA/CI/5/3/29a
Duisdale 1877-1901	HCA/CI/5/3/34a
Eskadale R.C. (a) 1864-77	
(b) 1877-1909	HCA/CI/5/3/39
Glenconvith 1885-1920	HCA/CI/5/3/46a
Glenfinnan 1877-1909	HCA/CI/5/3/142a
Glentruim 1873-1912	HCA/CI/5/3/51a
Grantown Grammar 1874-1912	HCA/CI/5/3/53a
Highland Orphanage 1894-1925	HCA/CI/5/3/56a
Heast 1875-98	HCA/CI/5/3/57a
Invermoriston 1874-1900	HCA/CI/5/3/123a
Kilmaluag Society 1875-1909	HCA/CI/5/3/59
Lynwilg 1892-1914	HCA/CI/5/3/68a
Macdiarmid 1865-91	HCA/CI/5/3/69a
Marydale R.C. 1874-1922	HCA/CI/5/3/70a
Onich 1873-1920	HCA/CI/5/3/110a
St. Joseph's R.C.	HCA/CI/5/3/155a
Soay 1878-99	HCA/CI/5/3/79a
Tarskaveg (Sleat)	HCA/CI/5/3/82a
Torran (Skye) 1878-93	HCA/CI/5/3/84a

<u>School Board Minute Books</u>

Abernethy & Kincardine 1873-88	HCA/CI/5/17/1
Ardersier School 1873-1910	HCA/CI/5/9/1
Daviot & Dunlichty 1873-90	HCA/CI/5/10/1
Glengarry 1888-1914	HCA/CI/5/11/1
Inverness & Bona (Landward) 1892-1905	HCA/CI/5/8/1
Kilmallie 1873-93	HCA/CI/5/26/1
Kilmorack 1873-1891	HCA/CI/5/12/1
Kiltarlity 1873-1904	HCA/CI/5/13/1
Kingussie 1886-1905	HCA/CI/5/21/2

Laggan 1873-82	HCA/CI/5/22/1

Nairn County: (CN)

School Log Books

Cawdor 1864-1917	HCA/CN/5/3/5a
Delnies 1874-1907	HCA/CN/5/3/7a
Geddes 1875-92	HCA/CN/5/3/11a

School Board Minute Books

Ardlach 1873-89	HCA/CN/5N/1/1
Cawdor 1873-1901	HCA/CN/5/3/1
Droy 1873-92	HCA/CN/5/4/1
Nairn 1893-1901	HCA/CN/5/6/1

Ross and Cromarty County: (CR)

School Log Books

Arinacremaichd 1870-96	HCA/CRC/5/3/5a
Cullokie 1873-1899	HCA/CRC/5/3/12a
Dingwall Academy 1863-94	HCA/CRC/5/3/60a
Ferintosh 1877-1904	HCA/CRC/5/3/15b
Fodderty 1873-1903	HCA/CRC/5/3/16a
Killearnan 1875-1907	HCA/CRC/5/3/21a
Kinlochewe 1877-98	HCA/CRC/5/3/26a
Laide 1874-96	HCA/CRC/5/3/29a
Lochalsh 1874-1908	HCA/CRC/5/3/32a
Nigg 1873-1901	HCA/CRC/5/3/38a
Pitcalnie 1877-1906	HCA/CRC/5/3/54a
Tarbet West 1876-1901	HCA/CRC/5/3/50a

School Board Minute Books

Applecross 1873-1914	HCA/CR/5/2/1
Cromarty 1891-1900	HCA/CR/5C/2

Lochcarron 1873-93	HCA/CR/5/11/1

Sutherland County: (CS)

School Log Books

Assynt 1874-1921	HCA/CS/5/5/3a
Clyne 1874-1908	HCA/CS/5/5/9a
Dornoch 1873-1908	HCA/CS/5/5/12a
Kilbrair 1878-1916	HCA/CS/5/5/17
Larachan 1878-96	HCA/CS/5/5/22a
Skerray 1874-1908	HCA/CS/5/5/31a
Tongue 1873-97	HCA/CS/5/5/35a

School Board Minute Books

Assynt 1873-84	HCA/CS/5/3/1/1
Creich 1889-1905	HCA/CS/5/3/3/2
Kildonan 1884-96	HCA/CS/5/3/8/1
Farr 1873-87	HCA/CS/5/3/12/1

Lanark County: (SRA)

School Log Books	SR10/3 and CO1/5/5
Albert (1) 1873-1893	CO1/5/5/2/1
(32) 1893-1909	CO1/5/5/2/2
Auchenleath (1) 1865-1876	SR10/3/993/1
(2) 1876-1900	SR10/3/993/2
Coatdyke (Coatbridge) 1894-1905	SR10/3/1048/1/1
Admission Register 1894-1907	SR10/3/1048/2/1
Dolphinton 1876-1921	SR10/3/1069/1/1
Drumclog 1875-1903	CO1/5/5/6/1
Register 1875-1902	CO1/5/5/6/4
Eastfield 1874-1911	CO1/5/5/8/1
Ferniegair (Hamilton) (1) 1876-1894	SR10/3/1079/1/1
(2) 1894-1907	SR10/3/1079/1/2

Gartsherrie (Coatbridge) 1872-1898	SR10/3/1085/1/1
Jackton (East Kilbride) 1876-1906	SR10/3/1113/1/1
(Admission and Withdrawal Register) 1876-1914	SR10/3/1113/2/1
Low Waters (Hamilton) 1878-1904	SR10/3/1137/1/1
Moffat 1894-1946	CO1/5/5/10/1
Evening Continuation Classes 1895-1902	CO1/5/5/10/3
Admission Register 1894-1927	CO1/5/5/10/4
Northrigg 1889-1921	CO1/5/5/11/1
Riggend 1874-1914	CO1/5/5/12/1
Skellyhill 1874-1908	CO1/5/5/14/1
Stonelaw (Rutherglen) (1) 2.11.1863-19.1.1877	CO1/5/5/21/1
(2) 8.12.1876-29.9.1916	CO1/5/5/21/2
Symington 1874-1910	SR10/3/1184/1/1
Waterside Evening Continuation Classes	CO1/5/5/16/3
West Maryston 1876-1902	CO1/5/5/17/1
Whifflet (Coarbridge) Admission Register 1888-1904	SR10/3/1258/2/1

School Board Minute Books and Related Material.	CO1/5/1
Inspectors' Reports 1898-1899	CO1/5/1/3/11
Douglas School Board 1878-1882	CO1/5/1/4/1
East Kilbride School Board (1) 1873-1884	CO1/5/1/5/1
(2) 1885-1894	CO1/5/1/5/2
(3) 1894-1899	CO1/5/1/5/3
Glassford School Board 1873-1898	CO1/5/1/6/1

Lothian: (West Register House, Edinburgh)

East Lothian:

School Log Books	CO1/5/1/4
Bolton 1873-1917	CO1/5/4/1
East Barns 1873-1921	CO1/5/4/4
Halfland Barns 1886-1918	CO1/5/4/8
Kingside Combination 1892-1910	CO1/5/4/10

Kingston 1891-1911	CO1/5/4/14
St. Mary's (Haddington) 1872-1906	CO1/5/4/7
Spott 1873-1915	CO1/5/4/17
School Board Minute Books	CO7/5/2
Aberlady 1873-1909	CO7/5/2/1
Bolton 1873-1919	CO7/5/2/3
Dirleton (1) 1873-1879	CO7/5/2/4
(2) 1879-1915	CO7/5/2/5
Dunbar 1873-1899	CO7/5/2/23
Garvold 1873-1916	CO7/5/2/8
Haddington Combined (1) 1893-1895	CO7/5/2/10
(2) 1895-1902	CO7/5/2/11
Haddington School Board Officers' Reports 1875-1888	CO7/5/2/13
Haddington Parish School Board 1873-1885	CO7/5/2/19
Haddington Combined Burgh & Parish School Boards 1885-95	CO7/5/2/22
Tranent 1889-1900	CO7/5/2/16
Yester 1889-1909	CO7/5/2/18

Midlothian:

School Board Minute Books and Related Material	
Borthwick 1873-1898	CO2/105/1
Carrington 1873-1919	CO2/106/1
Cockpen 1873-1900	CO2/107/1
Cranston 1873-1918	CO2/109/1
Crichton 1873-1919	CO2/110/1
Currie 1873-1896	CO2/111/1
Dalkeith (Landward) 1873-1912	CO2/112/1
Fala 1873-1919	CO2/113/1
Heriot 1889-1914	CO2/115/1
Ninemileburn 1874-1919	CO2/123/1

Ratho 1873-1902	CO2/125/1
Temple 1873-1919	CO2/128/1
Committee on Secondary Education Minutes 1893-1906	CO2/130/2

Maryhill: (Mitchell Library, Glasgow)

Maryhill School Board Minutes, 1894-1904	F379

Perthshire: (Perth and Kinross Record Office)

School Log Books	CC1/5/7
Aberdalgie (1) 1868-1885	CC1/5/7/1
(2) 1885-1912	CC1/5/7/2
Ardtalnaig 1874-1914	CC1/5/7/57
Balgowan (1) 1864-1885	CC1/5/7/137
(2) 1886-1917	CC1/5/7/138
Ballintuim 1863-1922	CC1/5/7/9
Balnaguard 1875-1928	CC1/5/7/11
Bendochy 1874-1920	CC1/5/7/15
Blackford 1876-1916	CC1/5/7/169
Blackwater 1875-1917	CC1/5/7/154
Blairnroar 1877-1913	CC1/5/7/18(A)
Burleton 1864-1893	CC1/5/7/180
Butterston 1874-1939	CC1/5/7/130
Carnbro 1874-1905	CC1/5/7/94
Central District, Perth	CC1/5/7/117
Clunie 1873-1929	CC1/5/7/159
Craigend 1874-1916	CC1/5/7/97
Dalguise 1876-1901	CC1/5/7/23
Dowally 1873-1914	CC1/5/7/99
Dron 1873-1932	CC1/5/7/30
Drummie 1872-1901	CC1/5/7/27
Drumour 1874-1925	CC1/5/7/32(A)
Dull 1863-1914	CC1/5/7/33

Dunning 1863-1895	CC1/5/7/161
Fortingall 1873-1907	CC1/5/7/101
Foss 1874-1919	CC1/5/7/36
Fowlis Wester Village 1874-1940	CC1/5/7/142
Free West Church (Perth)	CC1/5/7/39
Glenartney 1877-1899	CC1/5/7/42
Glendevon 1885-1942	CC1/5/7/45A
Glendoick 1873-1935	CC1/5/7/127
Gleneagles 1870-1908	CC1/5/7/167
Glenlednock 1875-1942	CC1/5/7/51
Glenshee 1873-1924	CC1/5/7/54
Inchture 1868-1894	CC1/5/7/176
Kilspinndie 1873-1924	CC1/5/7/106
Kinclaven 1868-1919	CC1/5/7/61
Kinfauns 1870-1896	CC1/5/7/64
Kinloch 1869-1924	CC1/5/7/109
Lawers 1873-1907	CC1/5/7/68
Meiklour 1873-1916	CC1/5/7/173
Moneydie 1873-1929	CC1/5/7/70A
Monzie 1873-1947	CC1/5/7/71
Monzievaird & Strowan 1863-1901	CC1/5/7/114
Newbigging 1864-1925	CC1/5/7/133
Path of Conchie 1874-1920	CC1/5/7/73
Rhynd 1870-1949	CC1/5/7/78
Stormontfield 1873-1905	CC1/5/7/122
Taylor's Institute, Crieff 1863-1909	CC1/5/7/86
Tibbermore 1874-1938	CC1/5/7/151
Tullibardine 1873-1918	CC1/5/7/145
Wester Caputh Female School 1815-1913	CC1/5/7/56
School Board Board Minute Books	CC1/5
Abernethy (1) 1873-1887	CC1/5/17/1

Alyth 1899-1909	CC1/5/18/1
Amulree 1873-1909	CC1/5/19/1
Auchterarder 1873-1896	CC1/5/22/1
Auchtergaven 1873-1900	CC1/5/23/1
Blackford (1) 1873-1881	CC1/5/27/1
(2) 1881-1901	CC1/5/27/2A
Caputh 1873-1897	CC1/5/31/1
Coupar Angus (1) 1873-1888	CC1/5/38/1
(2) 1888-1902	CC1/5/38/1
Errol Female Industrial School 1857-1914	CC1/5/104/1
Innerwick Quoad Sacra School Board 1873-1919	CC1/5/122/1
Perth (1) 1873-1874	CC1/5/13/1
(2) 1875-1876	CC1/5/13/3
(3) 1881-1883	CC1/5/13/6
(4) 1885-1888	CC1/5/13/8
(5) 1892-1894	CC1/5/13/11
(6) 1894-1896	CC1/5/13/12
(7) 1898-1900	CC1/5/13/15

Renfrew County: (SRA)

School Log Books	CO2/5/6
Barrhead Parish, Cross Arthurlie1871-1872, 1876-1900	CO2/5/6/2/1
Barrhead Grahamston 1887-1896	CO2/5/6/4/1
Barrhead Public School (1) 1887-1885	CO2/5/6/6/1
(2) 1885-1908	CO2/5/6/6/2
Eastwood, Thornliebank 1884-1919	CO2/5/6/12/1
(Infants) 1897-1920	CO2/5/6/12/3
Gourock Central 1877-1895	CO2/5/6/14/1
Gourock, John Street 1864-1877	CO2/5/6/17/1
Gourock, St. Ninian's 1880-1906	CO2/5/6/18/1
Greenock, St. Lawrence's 1864-1884	CO2/5/6/36/1
(Girls & Infants) 1886-1916	CO2/5/6/38/1

Johnstone Public School 1877-1896	CO2/5/6/44/1
Johnstone, St. Margaret's R.C. 1885-1924	CO2/5/6/45/1
Neilston, St. Thomas' 1874-1908	CO2/5/6/52/1
Paisley, Carbrook Strreet 1875-1897	CO2/5/6/54/1
Pailsey, Carriagehill 1875-1891	CO2/5/6/54A/1
Paisley, Ferguslie 1882-1906	CO2/5/6/56/1
Paisley, George Street Central 1891-1902	CO2/5/6/57/1
Paisley, Mossvale 1880-1888	CO2/5/6/61/1
Paisley North 1876-1894	CO2/5/6/62/1
Paisley, St. Mary's (1) 1871-1887 (2) 1887-1909	CO2/5/6/65/1&2
Paisley South 1890-1905	CO2/5/6/68/1
Port Glasgow, St. John's Girls' 1883-1898	CO2/5/6/73/1
Evening Classes 1893-1900	CO2/5/6/73/2
Port Glasgow, St. John's R.C. 1898-1912	CO2/5/6/74/1
Renfrew, St. James' R.C. 1877-1899	CO2/5/6/77/1
Uplawmoor (1) 1864-1874 (2) 1874-1905	CO2/5/6/78&2

<u>School Board Related Material</u>

Gourock School Board Memo of Agreement	
[Pupil-Teacher] 1817-1906,	CO2/5/3/3/13

Stirling County: (Central Regional Archives)

Allan's School (Infants) 1874-1884	SC5/6/128
Allan's School 1874-1906	SC5/6/125
Bridge of Allan 1865-1898	SC5/6/9
Causewayhead School 1883-1911	SC5/6/13
Drymen (Industrial) Public School	SC5/6/99
Fallin School 1874-1916	SC5/6/36
Greenhill Public School 1884-1900	SC5/6/87
Holy Trinity Episcopal School 1874-1895	SC5/6/62
Kilsyth Academy (Girls' Evening School) 1896-1901	SC5/6/124
Plean Street (East) School 1873-1916	SC5/6/45

Plean Street (West) School 1874-1913	SC5/6/121
Raploch School 1869-1898	SC5/6/48
Sauchie School 1871-1908	SC56/52

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1851-52, vol.1 [1479] XXXlX.337; vol.ll [1480] XL.1

1852-53 vol.1 [1623] LXXlX.l; vol.ll [1624] LXXX.1

1853-54 vol.1 [1787] Ll.1; vol.ii [1788] Lll.1;

1854-55 [1926] XLll.1;

1855-56 [2058] XLVll.1;

1856-57 [2237 Sess.27] XXXlll.1;

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Fourth Report, 1877 [c.1809]XXXll.21;
Fifth Report, 1878 [c.2024]XXX.l;
Sixth and Concluding Report, 1878-79 [c.2255] XXV.393
Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *Annual Reports* (1886-87; 1893-97):
Report for 1886-87 [c.5135]XXXll.1;
Report for 1893-94 [c.7431]XXXl.1;
Report for 1894-95 [c.7816]XXX.1;
Report for 1895-96 [c.8070, c.8071]XXlX.l;
Report for 1896-97 [c.8476, c.8477]XXX.1
Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry Into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars on the Highlands and Islands of Scotland [The Napier Commission] (Edinburgh, 1884)
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many girls in paid employment. This pattern, Smith argues, and the gender division of labour in the home, meant that in Dundee girls were likely to receive less formal education than boys, and, it could be added, than girls in Glasgow. [27] Taking Scotland as a whole, however, girls increasingly stayed on at school toward the end of the century, often longer than boys who had more chances of paid employment. Hence the high and almost identical rates of literacy between the sexes at the turn of the century give an impression of growing equality, while masking the lower academic expectations and the occupational inferiority of girls and women.

Moreover, while there were similarities with the English situation, there were also distinct differences. As chapter five has shown, the feminisation of the teaching profession in Scotland revealed an interaction between nationality and gender, mediated by social class and religious denomination. Both Presbyterian and Catholic schoolmistresses managed to establish an influential, if still subordinate, place for themselves. Indeed, the Catholic Church saw teachers, of whom the majority was female, as playing a crucial role in preserving their minority culture. In practice, it is difficult to distinguish between Presbyterian and Catholic patriarchy, or the female experiences of either. The development of Catholic schooling for the poor provided opportunities for a career in teaching for girls in particular, while the training seems to have aimed at equipping them with tactics to obviate priestly interference in the running of the school. As noted above, for clergy and laity alike, education was not simply a matter of social control, but also a means of improving the position of the Catholic poor within the wider community.

In Scotland, the educational tradition and the myth of the democratic intellect were seen as at the heart of the national community. George Schöpflin has argued that one of the functions of myth is to construct coherence in order:

> to ensure that the integrity of the group is safeguarded, that cultural reproduction is not prejudiced, and that the collective world made simple by myth remains, so that individuals may construct their identities as individuals and simultaneously as members of the community. [28]